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QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS:

LIFE

AND

EXPLOITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

EDITED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

ENGLISH NOTES,
AND REFERENCES TO HARKNESS' LATIN GRAMMAR.

BY

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P R E F A C E .

IT is an undoubted, though unaccountable, fact, that Quintus Curtius' History of the Exploits of Alexander the Great is a work almost unheard of in the Academies and Colleges of the United States, while in England, and more especially on the Continent, it holds a high place in the estimation of classical instructors. The interesting character of its subject, the elegance of its style, and the pureness of its moral sentiments, ought surely to place it on an elevation as high, if not higher, than the Commentaries of Cæsar, or the Histories of Sallust. In conjunction with Arrian, who wrote in Greek, Curtius is the main source whence are derived all those interesting anecdotes of the great Macedonian conqueror, which excited our imagination—perhaps stimulated our ambition—in the days of youth. His youthful courage in taming Bucephalus—his ready boldness in severing the Gordian knot with his good sword—his fortitude in draining to the dregs the cup received from the hands of a physician, against whose treachery he had been warned—his acts of romantic

daring—his magnanimity to his captives—his self-denial in scenes of temptation,—all these, together with his oft-quoted sayings, render this History one of the most entertaining as well as instructive of the Classics.

As to the style of Curtius, nothing can be more pleasing. Heinsius, indeed, with somewhat of a disregard of gender, speaks of him as “*Venus Historicorum.*” Bartholomew Merula applies to his narratives the phrase “*elegantissime conscriptas,*” and Decembrius calls him a writer “*miræ dulcedinis.*” Of the absorbing interest of his narrative, and the attractive character of his style, the following anecdote is preserved : Alphonso VII., King of Spain, being afflicted with serious illness, and having tried in vain the numerous prescriptions of his physicians, attempted to solace his hours of pain by perusing Curtius’ History of Alexander ; and such, it is related, was the happy effect of his new remedy, that he was soon restored to health. When convalescent, he was heard to exclaim, “*Valcant Avicenna, Hippocrates, medici ceteri ; vivat Curtius, sospitator meus !*”

As to the era when Curtius flourished, learned men are completely at fault ; and, accordingly, vary greatly in their conjectures on the subject. Some make him contemporaneous with Cicero,—others bring him down to the time of Theodosius the Great, while between these extremes we find the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan, and Constantine, each

having its advocates as the time when he flourished. It is hardly necessary to add that his personal history is involved in similar obscurity.

But a worse calamity than mere ignorance of the time of our author's birth, and of the particulars of his life, meets the reader on the very threshold. Time, ever *edax rerum*, has devoured the whole of the first two books, and made sad inroads into one or two of the others. These defects have, in a measure, been supplied by learned men, particularly by John Freinsheim, whose excellent supplements have called forth the remark of a distinguished biographical writer, that "he has been so successful that we almost cease to lament the loss of the original." As the supplements of Freinsheim are very long, the Editor has, in most instances, inserted those of Chris. Cellarius, which, though brief, will supply to the curious student a sufficient outline of the early years of Alexander, and also fill up the *lacunæ* that occur in the course of the narrative.

One word as to the text of the present edition. It has been printed from an *Editio Lugdunensis* of 1810, with such emendations as a collation of other editions, and the suggestions and conjectures of critics seemed to render advisable. In one or two instances only has the Editor ventured to introduce a *reading* of his own, and these are mentioned and defended in the notes.

In conclusion, the Editor would remark that he puts

forth this edition of Quintus Curtius with all confidence, that, if a writer so interesting in his subject, and so captivating in his style, shall once gain a foothold in our American course of classical study, his own merits will suffice to retain him there.

POUGHKEEPSIE, *August*, 1854.

CHRISTOPHORI CELLARII
SUPPLEMENTI
IN Q. CURTIUM,
DE REBUS GESTIS
ALEXANDRI MAGNI,
LIBER PRIMUS.

ARGUMENT.

Introduction. Pedigree of Alexander. The portents at his birth. His education. His early military training. Philip's overthrow of Grecian liberty. Coldness between Alexander and his father. Philip's preparations for invading Persia. His assassination. The vengeance taken by Olympias and Alexander. Alexander made Generalissimo by the Greeks. Risings of the barbarians suppressed. Revolt of the Greeks crushed. The Athenians again on good terms with Alexander.

[ILLORUM, qui Alexandri res gestas scripsére, fide dignissimus Ptolemæus Lagi videtur, quod ipse rebus interfuerat, nec ulla, si secus scripsisset, suspicio lueri apparebat: proximus Aristobulus, quos longo intervallo Diodorus Siculus, non minus gravis auctor, secutus est. Alexander Philippo, Amyntæ filio, et Olympiade Epirensi natus, utroque parente nobilissimus fuit. Pater enim ad Hæreulem, mater ad Achillem, genus referebat. Sic clarus aliis Alexander, sibi obseurus videbatur, nisi, abdicato mortali patre, ab Jove genitus crederetur. Addita insolentis fabula, draconem in cubili matris visum, quem Jupiter induerit. Philippus per quietem vidit obsignatam Olympiadis alvum annulo, ejus sculptura leonem præferret, quod vates Aristander de fœtu generoso et leoninâ magnitudine animi interpretatus est. Quâ nocte autem natus Alexander est, eadem templum Ephesiæ Dianæ celeberrimum desflagavit: quod majoris ruinæ præsagium habuerunt, qui ex fortunæ casu de futuris judicabant, ortam alicubi facem esse, quâ Asiæ regnum conflagraturum

sit. Quanta Philippi in educando filio solertia fuerit, Epistola documento est, quâ sibi gratulatus fuit, quòd iis temporibus filio auctus sit, quæ Aristotelem dare præceptorem possint, qui patriæ urbis instaurationem præmium laboris ab rege tulit. Assidui autem nutritores et pædagogi fuerunt, Leonidas, Lysimachus Arcanan, et ejusdem gentis Philippus, rector valetudinis. Eloquentiæ magistro usus est Anaximene Lampsaceno, ejus calliditati postmodum eversionem patriæ donavit, Homeri carmina tanti fecit, ut nunquam Iliadem non comitem haberet. Præaugium militaris magnitudinis in Bucephalo puer Alexander dedit, quem mirificæ, umbræ ratione habitâ, ita rexit domuitque, ut pater, omine inde capto, exclamârit, *aliud filio regnum quærendum esse, quoniam Macedonia non caperet.* Decimum annum et septimum agebat, cùm pater Byzantium oppugnans ipsi administrationem regni commisisset. Rebelavit tum Thraciæ quædam civitas, quam adolescens, collectis, qui domi relictæ erant, militibus, improvisâ celeritate oppressit, et urbem corvenis habitandam dedit, qui eam Alexandriam appellavere. Sed cùm male procederet Byzantina obsidio, (Atheniensium classe obsessis suppetias ferente,) Philippus filio usus ad subigenda Chersonesi oppida. Idem cùm ex Getico bello redux per Triballos iter faceret, et Græci mercenarii milites prædæ societatem postularent, altercatione in pugnam erumpente, ipse rex, equo interfecto, vulneratur, quem clypeo Alexander jacentem textit, irruentium alios occidit, alios armis longius inde propulsavit. Jam tantus evaserat Alexander, ut sine rectore aut custode exercitui posse præfici videretur, quam de se opinionem in Illyrios missus victoriis confirmavit. Philippus artibus consecutus est, ut Græcia servitutis jugum acciperet. Ultro enim quietos lacessere, inter concordantes odia instruere, dissidentium rixas alere, ita alterutram partem juvare, ut utramque opprimeret, solennis illi consuetudo fuit. Pauci expertes ejus dominationis erant, quos Demosthenis eloquentia in libertate sustentabat. Sed et horum tandem ad Chæroneam victor, facile obtinuit Philippus, ut imperator Græciæ adversus Persas crearetur. Bellicis rebus plerumque Alexander, etiam ad Charoneam prælio, intererat, in quo penes ipsum victoria stetisse dicitur. In cornu enim, cui præerat, initium vincendi factum, sacrâ Thebanorum cohorte, quæ ex lectissimis constabat, fortiter profligatâ. Cæterum a patre aliquando aberat, causæ matris inserviens, cui Philippus Cleopatram superinduxerat, in ejus nuptiis parum abfuit, quin Alexander, novæ prolis voto, quod Attalus fecerat, reclamans, a patre interficeretur. Philippus, dux belli a Græcis factus, bellum Persicum molitus est, præmisso Attalo et Parmenione eum copiarum parte, ut Græci in Asiâ civitates liberarent. Ipse oraculo lætus, seu potius deceptus, jam cepisse sibi orientem videbatur. Olympias Cleopatre posthabita fratrem Alexandrum, Epiri regem, in bellum

Philippo inferendum conceitavit, quod, ne alieno is tempore exciperet affinitatis gratiâ præveniens, Cleopatram filiam, Alexandri germanam, Epirotæ despondit, Ægis, Macedoniæ urbe, nuptiarum apparatu splendoris didissime instructo. Sed inopinatus casus lætitiâ intervertit. Etenim Pausanias quidam, ab Attalo contumeliose habitus, cum frustra conquestus de injuriâ esset, inter nuptiarum sacra regem, cum spectatum ludos iret, ex improvise interfecit. Consciam cædis Olympiadem fuisse, nec expertem Alexandrum, multorum suspicio erat, exinde fidei propior visa, quod parricidæ in cruce pendenti corona aurea audacius, quam pro privati fortunâ, imposita fuerat. Olympias poenam de Cleopatrá sumtura, peremtâ sobole, matrem ad suspendium adegit. Attalum etiam avunculum hujus, res novas in Asiâ molientem, Alexander per Iccatæum et Parmenionem sustulit. Græci et Barbari ad spem libertatis erecti a novo rege opinione citius opprimuntur. Obsessis ad Tempé angustiis, per invia Ossæ in Thessaliâ irrupit, et celeritate perfecit, ut Pyliaco Amphictyonum concilio in patris locum dux Græciæ sufficeretur, quod ad Corinthum conventu, quò rex a Thermopylis abierat, publicâ voce repetitum fuit, et auxilia contra Persas decreta. Forte in Craneo, Corinthiaco luo, Diogenes degebat, quem cum Alexander rogaret, ut diceret, si quibus opus esset: "A sole," inquit, "mihi velim non obstes:" aprianti enim offecerat. Cujus continentiam admiratus rex dixisse fertur: "Vellem et ego Diogenes esse, nisi essem Alexander." Græcorum rebus pro tempore ordinatis, in barbaros rex Alexander movit, et Thracibus in Æmo monte victis, regem Triballorum Syrmum, qui in Peuceen Istri insulam refugerat, ad petendam pacem coegit; Getas, trajecto Istro, superavit; et cum Germanorum legatis fœdus percussit. Per Agrianos Macedoniâ repetenti motus Illyriorum nuntiatur, qui Taulantios quoque in societatem pertraxerant. Hos domi eorum rex Agrianus, amicus Alexandro, lacescens, a vexandis Macedonibus avertit, qui illos postea ad Pelium, Dassaretiae oppidum, ita concusserunt, ut fugâ singuli, incensâ urbe, dilaberentur. Interea rumore, *Alexandrum in Triballis cecidisse*, per Græciâ increbescente, nova spes novum tumultum excitavit, qui Thebanorum civitati exitialis fuit. Ili enim, præfectis Cadmeæ trucidatis, acriter instabant præsidio arcis, mittentes quaquaversus, qui libertatis communiter vindicandæ conceitores essent. Nihil vero auxilii summissum fuit, plerisque expectantibus, quò fortuna inclinaret. Rex citius opinione in Bœotiam irrumpens, post tridui apparatus intra unum diem et oppugnavit et cepit Thebanorum urbem, in quam crudelius, quam pro ingenio suo, sæviit; ut peregre in Persas abiturus exemplum relinqueret, quod fidei tuendæ cæteros admoneret. Solis Pindari posteris in honorem vatis pepercit, ejusque domum cremari vetuit. Servavit etiam Deorum delubra, et fortium virorum statuas, religione per

motus, quòd milites cælesti igne, cùm fanum in suburbio spoliarent, am-
 busti dicebantur. Alexander Athenienses ulturus tanquam auctores
 defectionis Thebanæ, et post eladem receptores elapsorum, Demosthenem
 sibi, et Charidemum, et Ephialtem aliosque tradi postulat. Legatione
 autem effectum est, ut rex solius Charidemi exilio placaretur.]

LIBER II.

ARGUMENT.

Alexander's march from Macedonia through Thrace to the Hellespont. He crosses to Asia. The preparations of the Persians against the Macedonians. Alexander sacrifices to the Gods and Heroes. Battle of the Granicus. The burial of the dead and the honors bestowed upon them. He receives the surrender of some cities and takes others by storm. A plot against the king's life is discovered. The march through the passes of Mount Climax and battle with the Pisidians. The strength of the Persians is weakened by the death of Memnon.

[ALEXANDER, Græciæ rebus compositis, et administratione regni Antipatro commissâ, in bellum Persicum, ad quod se pridem paraverat, profecturus, triginta millia peditum, et quinque equitum secum educit. Classem, quam juxta lacum Cereinitem et Strymonis ostia habebat, eodem sequi jubet. Abderam et Maroneam prætergressus, et Hebro ac Melane fluviis trajectis, vicesimo die, postquam domo discesserat, Sestum venit. Sesto Elæuntem profectus rex Protesilao, qui Trojano bello primus in Asiam dicitur pedem intulisse, inferias dabat. Interea Parmenio exercitum Sesto Abydum transportavit; rex Elæunte in portum Achæum, qui ad Sigæum est, trajecit. Darius, Codomannus vulgari nomine, eâ tempestate rex Persarum erat, paulo ante Philippi necem, propter bellicam famam et genus a regio forte non alienum, in id fastigium evectus. Ille, contemptâ Alexandri juventute, omnia securius agebat: cognitis vero rebus, quas apud Græcos, Thracas, et Illyrios gesserat, summâ se curâ instanti bello præparabat, inissis quoque in Græciam, qui mercede militem conducerent. Nec mercenariis modo, sed universis in maritimâ orâ copiis Memnonem Rhodium, virum peritissimum rei bellicæ, præfecit. In mediis Hellesponti fluctibus Diis maris sacra fecit, et delatus in continentem, in hostilem agrum jaculum immisit, primusque de navi prosiliens Deos preceatus est, ne se regem illæ terræ invitum acciperent. In Illo quoque ad tumulos heroum, qui Trojano bello ceciderant, parentavit. Ex Illo rex Arisben, ubi castra habebat, revertit: inde Lampsacum præ-

tergressus, cui ignovit, ad Granicum amnem venit, in ejus alterâ ripâ hostilis exercitus stabat, transitum prohibiturus. Alexander instructâ acie ingressus flumen, magno nisu in altiore ripam evasit, Persasque tandem non sine suo periculo, ex quo Clitus servaverat, in fugam coniecit, circumventis etiam mercenariis, qui, globo facto, diutissime repugnaverant. Barbarorum ceciderunt viginti et duo millia: Macedonum tantummodo xxxiv. ut Plutarchus ex Aristobulo tradidit. Fugâ elapsi, in quibus et Memnon erat, Miletum perrexerunt, et Halicarnassum. Quod humanitatis officium est, Alexander illis præstitit, qui prælio oecubuerant. Hos enim ad cæterorum exemplum impense humatos equestribus statuâ donari jussit, cognatisque eorum immunitatem dedit. Ex spoliis ccc. clypeos Athenas misit in Minervæ templo cum civilissimâ inscriptione affigendos. Tanta victoriæ ad Granicum fama erat, ut plures Asiæ urbes se Alexandro dederent, Sardes inprimis, ac Ephesus: Miletus breviori obsidione, at Halicarnassus operosissimâ, expugnata fuit. Adâ illustri fœminæ regnum Cariæ redditum, a quo expulsa fuerat per Pexodorum. Cùm gratiam relatura mulier miræ artis et saporis cibos cum coquis et cupedariis offerret, ex Alexandro didicit, "optimos coquos esse, ad prandium, laborem antelucanum, ad cœnam, frugale prandium." Classem hoc tempore Alexander dimisit, ut supervacaneam ad usus futuros, nec ita instructam, ut Persarum classiariis opponi posset. Cùm rex Lyciam transiret, oppidis in deditionem acceptis, captivi indicio cognovit, ab Alexandro Lyncestâ, genero Antipatri, insidias sibi parari, quem veritus interficere, nequis motus in Macedoniâ oriretur, in vinculis diuturnis habuit. Phaselide in fidem acceptâ, per Climaca, hoc est, angustias inter montes et mare Pamphylium, ægre exercitum hyberno tempore transduxit, et Aspendiis post defectionem receptis, Telmessum prætergressus Pisidas ad Sagalassum gravi prælio superavit. Inter hæc Memnon, locis quibusdam in maris orâ recuperatis et Chio insulâ, dum Mitylenen obsidet, morbo correptus Persarum spem maximam morte intempestivâ deseruit. Nam hoc duce bellum Darius ex Asiâ in Europam transferri posse speraverat.]

QUINTI CURTII

LIBER III.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Celænarum urbe et arce receptâ, primariam Phrygiæ urbem Alexander ingreditur, in quâ fatalem Gordii nodum solvit, ac deinde obviam Dario ire statuit.

2. Exercitûs Persici lustratio; de quo cùm Darii jussu Charidemus Atheniensis verum liberamque protulisset judicium, capite mulctatus est.

3. Pompæ Persarum Regnum, orto sole dominum præcedentium, tum copiarum Alexandri descriptio.

4. Desertas ab Arsane, Darii præfecto, Ciliciæ fances Alexander opportunè occupat.

5. Cùm in Cydnum flumen abluendi corporis gratiâ intempestivè descendisset, gravissimo morbo corripitur Rex ipse.

6. Qui a fido, sapientique medico Philippo, cui a toto exercitu ingentes gratiæ habentur, pristinae valetudini mox restituitur.

7. Vegetior factus, Darium aggredi cogitat, Sisînemque Persam, imprudentiâ delinquentem, occidi jubet.

8. Darii ante pugnam consilia. Tum exercitûs Persici consternatio; proximæ internecionis præsagium.

9. Utriusque exercitûs membra præcipua et collatio.

10. Alexandri oratio ad milites.

11. Pugna cruenta, in quâ 100,000 peditum ac 10,000 equitum Persarum occumbunt, reliquis fuis fugatisque.

12. Castris Darii et ingenti prædâ potitur Alexander.

13. Matris et uxoris Darii, necnon aliarum nobilium captivarum luctum, ob Regem quem putabant interfectum, regio prorsus animo levat Alexander.

14. Darii gazam immensam, cum ingenti nobilium numero, Parmenionis proditoriâ Damasei præfectus tradit.

I. 1. INTER hæc, Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem, Cleandro cum pecuniâ misso, Lyciæ Pamphyliæque rebus compositis, ad urbem Celænas exercitum admovit. Media illâ tempestate mœnia interfluebat *Marsyas* amnis, fabulosis Græcorum carminibus inelytus. Fons ejus ex summo montis cacumine excurrrens, in subjectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit: inde diffusus circumjectos rigat campos, liquidus, et suas duntaxat undas trahens. Itaque color ejus, placido mari similis, locum poetarum mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est, ¹Nymphas amore amnis retentas, in illâ rupe

considerare. Cæterùm quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet. At cùm extra munimenta se evolvit, majore vi ac mole agentem undas, *Lycum* appellant. Alexander quidem urbem destitutam a suis intrat: arcem verò in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus, ³caduceatorem præmisit, qui denuntiaret, ⁴ni dederent, ipsos ultima esse passuros. Illi caduceatorem in turrim, et situ et opere multùm editam, perductum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri jubent, ac nunciare Alexandro, “non eadem ipsum et incolas æstimatione munimenta metiri: se scire inexpugnabiles esse: ⁵ad ultimum pro fide morituros.” Cæterùm, ut circumsideri arcem, et omnia sibi in dies arctiora viderunt esse; sexaginta dierum ⁶inducias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Darius ipsis misisset, dederent urbem; postquam nihil inde præsidii mittebatur, ad præstitutam diem permisere se regi.

2. ¹Superveniunt inde legati Atheniensium, petentes, ut capti apud Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ille, “Non hos modò, sed etiam cæteros Græcos restitui suis, jussurum,” respondit, “finito Persico bello.” Cæterùm Dario imminens, quem nondum Euphratem superasse cognoverat, undique omnes copias contrahit, totis viribus tanti belli discrimen aditurus. Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus, pluribus vicis quam urbibus frequens. Tunc habebat quondam nobilem Midæ regiam; Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis præterfluit, ⁷pari intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. Inter hæc maria, angustissimum Asiæ spatium esse comperimus; ⁸utroque in arctas fauces compellente terram. Quæ quia continenti adhæret, sed magnâ ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulæ præbet; ac, nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, ¹⁰committeret. Alexander, urbe in suam ditionem redactâ, Jovis templum intrat; vehiculum quo Gordium, Midæ patrem, vectum esse constabat, adspexit, cultu haud sanè a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. ¹¹Notabile erat jugum adstrictum compluribus nodis in semetipsos implicatis et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde affirmantibus, “editam esse oraculo sortem, Asiæ potiturum, qui inexplicabile

vinculum solvisset," cupido incessit animo sortis ejus implendæ.

3. Circa Regem erat et Phrygum turba, et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, hæc sollicita ex temerariâ Regis fiducia: ¹²quippe seriem vinculorum ita adstrictam, ut unde nexus inciperet, quoque se conderet, nec ratione, nec visu percipi posset, solvere aggressus injecerat curam, ne in omen verteretur irritum incœptum. Ille ¹³nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis, "Nihil," inquit, "interest quomodo solvatur," gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi sortem vel elusit, vel implevit. Cùm deinde Darium, ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo ¹⁴tuta relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem præfecit Hegelochum, Lesbum, et Chium, et Con, præsidiis hostium ¹⁵liberatos. His ¹⁶talenta ad belli usum quingenta attributa: ad Antipatrum, et eos qui Græcas urbes tuebantur, sexcenta missa: ex fœdere naves sociis imperatæ, quæ Hellesponto ¹⁷præsiderent. Nondum enim Memnonem vitâ excessisse cognoverat, in quem omnes intenderat curas; satis gnarus, cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur. Jamque ad urbem Aneyram ventum erat, ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat. Huic juncti erant Heneti, unde quidam Venetos trahere originem credunt: omnis hæc regio paruit Regi, datisque obsidibus, tributum (quod ne Persis quidem tulissent) pendere ne cogerentur, impetraverunt. Calas huic regioni præpositus est. Ipse, assumptis, qui ex Macedonia nuper advenerant, Cappadociam petiit.

II. 4. At Darius, nunciata Memnonis morte, haud secus quàm par erat, motus, omissâ omni aliâ spe, ¹statuit ipse discernere, quippe quæ per duces suos acta erant, cuncta damna-
bat; ratus, pluribus curam, omnibus abfuisse fortunam. Igitur castris ad Babylonem positis, quò majore animo capesserent bellum, universas vires in conspectum dedit; et ²circum-
dato vallo, quod decem millium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo, numerum copiarum iniit. Orto sole ad noctem agmina, sicut descripta erant, intravere vallum

Inde emissa occupaverunt Mesopotamiæ campos, equitum peditumque propemodum innumerabilis turba, majorem ²quàm pro numero speciem gerens. Persarum erant centum millia, in quibus ⁴eques triginta millia implebat. Medi decem equitum, quinquaginta millia peditum habebant. Barcanorum equitum duo millia fuere, armati bipennibus, levibusque scutis ⁶cetræ maxime speciem reddentibus; peditum decem millia pari armaturâ sequebantur. Armenii quadraginta millia miserant peditum, additis septem millibus equitum. Hyreani, ⁸egregii ut inter illas gentes, sex millia expleverant, equis militatura. Derbices quadraginta millia peditum armaverant. Pluribus ære aut ferro præfixæ hastæ, quidam lignum igne duraverant; hos quoque duo millia equitum ex eadem gente comitata sunt. A Caspio mari octo millium pedester exercitus venerat, ducenti equites. Cum his erant ignobiles Asiæ gentes: duo millia peditum, equitum duplicem paraverant numerum. His copiis triginta ⁷millia Græcorum, mercede conducta, egregiæ juventutis, adjecta sunt. Nam Bactrianos et Sogdianos, et Indos, cæterosque ⁸rubri maris accolas, ignota etiam ⁹ipsi gentium nomina, festinatio prohibebat acciri.

5. Nec quicquam illi minùs, quàm multitudo militum defuit: ejus tum universæ aspectu admodum lætus, ¹⁰purpuratis solitâ vanitate spem ejus infantibus, conversus ad Charidemum Atheniensem, belli peritum, et ob exilium infestum Alexandro, (quippe Athenis, jubente eo, fuerat expulsus) percunctari cœpit, ¹¹“satisne ei videretur instructus ad obtinendum hostem?” At ille, et suæ sortis et regiæ superbiæ oblitus: ¹²“Verum,” inquit, “et tu forsán audire nolis; et ego, nisi nunc dixerò, aliàs nequidquam confitebor. Hic tantî apparatus exercitus, hæc tot gentium, et totius Orientis excita sedibus suis moles, finitimis potest esse terribilis: nitet purpurâ, auroque, fulget armis et opulentiâ, ¹³quantam qui oculis non subjecere, animis concipere non possunt. Sed Macedoniarum acies ¹⁴torva sanè et inculta, clypeis hastisque immobiles ¹⁵cuneos, et ¹⁶conserta robora virorum tegit. Ipsi ¹⁷phalangem vocant peditum stabile agmen. Vir viro, armis arma conserta

sunt: ¹⁸ ad nutum monentis intenti, sequi signa, ordines servare didicêre. Quod imperatur, omnes exaudiunt: ¹⁹ obsistere, circumire, discurrere in cornu, mutare pugnam, non duces magis quàm milites ²⁰ callent. Et ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, ²¹ adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistrâ stetit, fatigatis humus cubile est: cibus ²² quem occupant, satiat. ²³ Tempora somni arctiora quàm noctis sunt. Jam ²⁴ Thessali equites et Aearnanes, Ætolique, invicta bello manus, ²⁵ fundis, credo, et ²⁶ hastis igne duratis, repellentur? pari robore opus est. In illâ terrâ, quæ hos genuit, auxilia quærenda sunt. Argentum ²⁷ istud atque aurum ad conducendum militem mitte." Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, nisi etiam suam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Itaque veritatis impatiens, hospitem ac supplicem, tunc cùm maximè utilia suadentem, abstrahi jussit ad capitale supplicium. Ille, ne tum quidem libertatis oblitus: "Habeo," inquit, "paratum mortis meæ ultorem; ²⁸ expetet pœnas mei consilii spreti is ipse, contra quem tibi suasi. Tu quidem licentiâ regni tam subito mutatus, documentum eris posteris, homines, cùm se permisêre fortunæ, etiam naturam dediscere." Hæc vociferantem, quibus erat imperatum, jugulant. Sera deinde pœnitentia subiit Regem: ac vera dixisse confessus, cum sepeliri jussit.

III. 6. Thymodes erat Mentoris filius, impiger juvenis, cui præceptum est a Rege; ut omnes ¹ peregrinos milites, in quæis plurimùm habebat spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet, operâ eorum usurus in bello. Ipsi Pharnabazo tradidit imperium, quod antea Memnoni dederat. Auxium de instantibus curis, agitabant etiam per somnum ² species imminentium rerum: sive illas ægritudo, sive divinatio animi præsagientis ³ accersit. Castra Alexandri magno ignis fulgore collucere ei visa sunt, et paulò post ⁴ Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo vestis habitu, ⁵ quo ipse fuisset: equo deinde per Babylonem vectus, subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. Ad hæc vates variâ interpretatione ⁶ eorum distrinxerant: alii "lætum id Regi somnium esse," dicebant, "quòd castra hostium arsissent, quòd Alexandrum depositâ regiâ veste, in Persico et vulgari

habitu perductum esse vidisset.” Quidam contra augurabantur: ⁷ “quippe illustria Macedonum castra visa, fulgorem Alexandro portendere, quem regnum Asiæ occupaturum esse, haud ambigere, quoniam in eodem habitu Darius fuisset, cum appellatus est Rex. Vetera quoque omnia, ⁸ ut fit, sollicitudo revocaverat; “Darium enim in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam jussisse mutari in eam formam, quâ Græcæ uterentur; protinusque Chaldæos interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma esset imitatus.” Cæterum ipse et ⁹ vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quæ per somnium oblata erat, admodum lætus, castra ad Euphratem moveri jubet.

7. Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto sole, denum procedere. ¹⁰ Die jam illustri signum.e tabernaculo Regis buccinâ dabatur; super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, ¹¹ imago Solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat. Ordo autem agminis erat talis: Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et æternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus præferebatur. ¹² Magi proximi patriam carmen canebant. Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, puniceis amiculis velati, ¹³ diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. Currum deinde Jovi sacratum albentes vehabant equi; hos eximiæ magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur. Auræ virgæ et albæ vestes, ¹⁴ regentes equos adornabant. Haud procul erant vehicula decem, multo auro argentoque cælata. Sequebatur hæc equitatus duodecim gentium, variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persæ ¹⁵ *immortales* vocant, ad decem millia; cultus opulentiae barbaræ non alios magis honestabat. Illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant, ¹⁶ manicatasque tunicas, gemmis etiam adornatas. Exiguo intervallo, quos cognatos Regis appellant, decem et quinque millia hominum. Hæc verò turba muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis, quàm decoris armis conspicua erat. ¹⁷ *Doryphori* vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem. Ii currum Regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehabatur. Utrum-

que currûs latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant internitentes gemmæ jugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea ¹⁸ simulacra cubitalia; quorum alterum Nini, alterum Beli gerebat effigiem. Inter hæc auream aquilam, ¹⁹ pinnas extendenti similem, sacraverant.

8. Cultus Regis inter omnia luxuriâ notabatur. ²⁰ Purpureæ tunicæ medium albo intextum erat. Pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se corruerent, adornabant: et zonâ aureâ muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ²¹ ex gemmâ erat vagina. ²² *Cydarim* Persæ regium capitis vocabant insigne: hoc cærulea fascia albo distincta circumibat. Currum decem millia hastatorum sequebantur; hastas argento exornatas, spicula auro præfixa gestabant. Dextrâ lævâque Regem ducenti fermè nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta millibus peditum, quos equi Regis quadringenti sequebantur. Intervallo deinde, unius stadii, matrem Darii Sysigambim currus vehebat, et in alio erat conjux. Turba fœminarum Reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. Quindecim inde, quas ²³ *armamaxas* appellant, sequebantur. In his erant liberi Regis, et qui educabant eos, spadonumque grex, haud sanè illis gentibus vilis. Tum regiæ pellices trecentæ sexaginta vehebantur, et ipsæ regali cultu, ornatuque: post quas pecuniam Regis, sexcenti muli, et trecenti cameli vehebant; præsidio sagittariorum prosequente. Propinquorum amicorumque conjuges huic agmini proximæ, ²⁴ lixarumque et calonum greges vehebantur. Ultimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter armati. Contrâ si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar acies erat equis virisque non auro, non discolori veste, sed ferro atque ære fulgentibus. Agmen et stare paratum, et sequi, ²⁵ ecce turbâ, nec sarcinis prægrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modò, sed etiam nutum. Et castris locus, et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non deficit. Darius autem tantæ multitudinis Rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustis, redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in hoste contempserat.

IV. 9. Interea Alexander, Abistamene Cappadociae præposito, Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, in regionem, quæ ¹*Castra Cyri* appellatur, pervenerat. ² Stativa illic habuerat Cyrus, cum adversus Crœsum in Lydiam exercitum duceret. Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo Ciliciam intramus: *Pylas* incolæ dicunt arctissimas fauces, ³ munimenta quæ manu ponimus, naturali situ imitante. Igitur Arsanes, qui Ciliciæ præerat, reputans quid initio belli Memnon suasisset, ⁴ quondam salubre consilium serò exsequi statuit: igne ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat: quicquid usui esse potest, corrumpit: sterile ac nudum solum, quod tueri nequibat, relicturus. Sed longè utilius ⁵ fuit angustias aditûs, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare præsidio, jugumque, opportunè itineri imminens, obtinere; unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere, aut opprimere potuisset. Tunc paucis, qui callibus præsiderent, relictis, retrò ipse concessit; populator terræ, quam a populationibus vindicare debuerat. Ergo, qui relictî erant, proditos se rati, ne conspectum quidem hostis sustinere voluerunt cum vel pauciores locum ⁶ obtinere potuissent. Namque ⁷perpetuo jugo montis asperi ac prærupti Cilicia includitur, ⁸ quod cum a mari surgat, velut sinu quodam flexuque curvatum, rursus altero cornu in diversum littus excurrit. Per hoc dorsum, quâ maximè introrsum mari cedit, asperi tres aditus, et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. ⁹ Campestris eadem, quâ vergit ad mare, planitiem ejus crebris distinguuntibus rivis.

10. Pyramus et Cydnus, inelyti amnes fluunt. Cydnus, ¹⁰ non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis; quippe, leni tractu à fontibus labens, puro solo excipitur; nec torrentes incurrunt, ¹¹ qui placidè manantis alveum turbent. Itaque incorruptus, idemque frigidissimus; quippe, ¹² multâ riparum amœnitate inumbratus, ¹³ ubique fontibus suis similis in mare evadit. Multa in eâ regione monumenta vulgata carminibus, vetustas exederat. Monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnessi et Thebes; Typhonis quoque specus, et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur. cæteraque in quibus nihil præter famam du-

raverat. Alexander fauces jugi, quæ ¹⁴ *Pylæ* appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum situm, ¹⁵ non aliàs magis dici tur admiratus esse felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent qui in subeuntes propellerent. Iter vix ¹⁶ quaternos capiebat armatos. Dorsum montis imminebat viæ, non angustæ modò, sed plerumque præruptæ, crebris oberantibus rivis, qui ex radicibus montium manant. Thracas tamen leviter armatos præcedere jusserat, scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat jugum: intentos arcus habebant, ¹⁷ moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed prælium. Hoc modo ¹⁸ agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson, ¹⁹ cui tum maximè Persæ subiciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invaderet. At ille, Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expeditâ manu præmisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognoverat, urbem a se conservatam intrat.

V. 11. ¹Mediam Cydnus amnis, de quo paulò antè dictum est, interfluit; et tunc æstas erat, cujus calor non aliam magis quàm Ciliciæ oram vapore solis accendit; et dici fervidissimum tempus cœperat. Pulvere ac sudore simul perfusum Regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret. Itaque veste depositâ, in conspectu agminis (decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis, levi ac parabili ² cultu corporis se esse contentum) descendit in flumen, vixque ³ ingressi subito horrore artus rigere cœperunt: pallor deinde suffusus est, et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor reliquit. Expiranti similem, ministri manu excipiunt, nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo, et penè jam luctus in castris erat. Flentes querebantur, ⁴ "in tanto impetu cursuque rerum, omnis ætatis ac memoriæ clarissimum Regem non in acie saltem, non ab hoste dejectum, sed abluentem aquâ corpus, creptum esse, et extinctum: instare Darium, ⁵ victorem antequam vidisset hostem Sibi easdem terras, quas victores peragrâssent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos, aut hostes populos: per vastas solitudines, etiamsi nemo insequi velit, cunctes, fame atque inopiâ debellari

posse. Quem signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurum Alexandro succedere? ⁶ Jam ut ad Hellespontum fugâ penetrarent, classem quâ transeant, quem præparaturum?" Rursus in ipsum Regem misericordiâ versâ, "illum florem juventæ, illam vim animi, eundem Regem et commilitonem divelli a se et abripi," immemores sui querebantur.

12. Inter hæc liberiùs meare spiritus cœperat; allevabat Rex oculos, et paulatim redeunte animo, circumstantes amicos agnoverat: laxataque vis morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentiebat. ⁸ Animum autem ægritudo corporis urgebat: quippe Darium quinto die ⁹ in Ciliciam fore nunciabatur. "Vinctum ergo se tradi, et tantam victoriam eripi sibi e manibus, obscurâque et ignobili morte in tabernaculo extinguere se," querebatur. Admissisque amicis pariter et medicis: "In quo me," inquit, ¹⁰ "articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum hostilium armorum exaudire mihi videor: et qui ultro intuli bellum, jam provocor. Darius ergo, cùm ¹¹ tam superbas litteras scriberet, ¹² fortunam meam in consilio habuit; sed nequidquam, si mihi ¹³ arbitrio meo curari licet. Lenta remedia et segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea. Vel mori strenuè, quàm tardè convalescere, mihi meliùs est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant, ¹⁴ me non tam mortis, quàm belli remedium quærere." Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam præceps temeritas ejus. Ergo pro se quisque precari cœpère, "ne festinatione periculum auget, sed ¹⁵ esset in potestate medentium. Inexperta remedia haud injuriâ ipsis esse suspecta, cùm ad perniciem ejus etiam a latere ipsius pecuniâ sollicitaret hostis:" ¹⁶ (quippe Darius mille talenta interfectori Alexandri daturum se pronunciari jusserat), "itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam" arbitrabantur "experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum."

VI. 13. Erat inter nobiles medicos e Macedoniâ Regem secutus Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum Regi; ¹ puero comes, et custos salutis datus, non ut Regem modò, sed etiam ut alumnum eximiâ charitate diligebat. Is non

præceps se, sed ² strenuum remedium afferre, tantamque vim morbi potione medicatâ levaturum esse promisit. Nulli promissum ejus placebat, præter ipsum ³ cujus periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe faciliùs, quàm moram, perpeti poterat. Arma et acies in oculis erant; et victoriam in eo positam esse arbitrabatur, si tantùm ante signa stare potuisset: idipsum, quòd post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset (ita enim medicus prædixerat) ægrè ferens. Inter hæc a Parmenione fidissimo ⁴ purpuratorum litteras accipit, quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem suam Philippo committeret, mille talentis a Dario, et spe nuptiarum sororis ejus esse corruptum. Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litteræ incusserant, et quicquid ⁵ in utramque partem aut metus, aut spes ⁶ subjecerat, secretâ æstimatione pensabat. "Bibere perseverem? ut, si venenum datum fuerit, ⁷ ne immeritò quidem, quicquid acciderit, evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere, quàm metu nostro." Diu animo in diversa versato, nulli quid scriptum esset, enunciat; epistolamque sigillo annuli sui impresso, pulvino, cui incubabat, subjecit.

14. Inter has cogitationes biduo assumpto, illuxit a medico destinatus dies. Et ille cum poculo, in quo medicamentum diluerat, intravit. Quo viso Alexander, levato corpore in cubitum, epistolam a Parmenione missam sinistrâ manu tenens, accipit poculum, et ⁸ haurit interritus: tum epistolam Philippum legere jubet, nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus aliquas ⁹ conscientiæ notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere. Ille epistolâ perlectâ, plus indignationis, quàm pavoris ostendit: projectisque ¹⁰ amiculo et litteris ante lectum: "Rex," inquit, ¹¹ "semper quidem spiritus meus ex te pependit, sed nunc verè ab isto sacro et venerabili ore trahitur. Crimen ¹² patricidii, quod mihi objectum est, tua salus diluet. Servatus a me vitam mihi dederis. Oro, quæsoque, omisso metu, patere medicamentum concipi venis. Laxa paulisper animum, quæm sollicitudine intempestivâ amici sanè fideles, sed molestè seduli turbant." Non securum modò hæc vox, sed etiam lætum Re-

gem, ac plenum bonæ spei fecit. Itaque, ¹³ “Si Dii,” inquit, “Philippe, tibi permisissent, quo maximè modo animum velles experiri meum, alio profectò voluisses; sed certiores quàm expertus es, ne optàsses quidem. Hæc epistolà acceptà, tamen quod dilueras bibi; et nunc crede, me non minùs pro tuà fide, quàm pro meà salute esse sollicitum.” Hæc eloquutus, dexteram Philippo offert.

15. Cæterùm tanta vis medicaminis fuit, ut quæ secuta sunt, criminationem Parmenionis adjuverint. Interclusus spiritus arctè meabat, nec Philippus quidquam inexpertum omisit. Ille fomenta corpori admisit, ille torpentem nunc cibi, nunc ¹⁴ vini odore excitavit. Atque, ut primùm mentis compotem esse sensit, modò matris, sororumque, modò tantæ victoriæ appropinquantis admonere non destitit. Ut verò medicamentum se diffudit in venas, et sensim toto corpore salubritas percipi potuit, primò animus vigorem suum, deinde corpus quoque expectatione maturiùs recuperavit: quippe post tertium diem, quàm in hoc statu fuerat, in conspectum militum venit. Nec avidiùs ipsum Regem, quàm Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque dexteram ejus amplexi, grates habebant, velut præsenti Deo. Namque haud facilè dictum est, præter ingenitam illi genti erga Reges suos venerationem, quantum hujus utique Regis vel admirationi dediti fuerint, vel charitate flagraverint. Jam primùm nihil, sine divinâ ope, aggredi videbatur. ¹⁵ Nam cum esset præstò ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat: ¹⁶ ætas quoque vix tantis matura rebus, sed abundè sufficiens, omnia etiam ejus opera honestabat: et quæ leviora haberi solent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo sunt; exercitatio corporis inter ipsos, cultus habitusque paululùm a privato abhorrens, militaris vigor; queis ille vel ingenii dotibus, vel animi artibus, ut pariter carus ac venerandus esset, effecerat.

VII. 16. At Darius nuncio de adversâ valetudine ejus accepto, celeritate, quantam capere tam grave agmen poterat, ad Euphratem contendit: junctoque eo pontibus, quinque tamen diebus trajecit exercitum, Ciliciam occupare festinans.

Jamque Alexander viribus corporis receptis, ad urbem Solos pervenerat: ejus potitus, ducentis talentis nomine ² mulctæ exactis, arci præsidium militum imposuit. ³ Vota deinde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens, ostendit quantâ fiduciâ barbaros sperneret: quippe Æsculapio et Minervæ ludos celebravit. Spectanti ⁴ nuncius lætus affertur ex Halicarnasso, "Persas acie a suis esse superatos, Myn-dios quoque et Caunios, et pleraque tractûs ejus, suæ facta ditionis." Igitur edito spectaculo ludicro, castrisque motis, et Pyramo amne ponte juncto, ad urbem Mallon pervenit: inde ⁵ alteris castris ad oppidum Castabalum. Ibi Parmenio Regi occurrit, quem præmiserat ad explorandum iter saltûs, per quem ad urbem, *Isson* nomine, penetrandum erat. Atque ille angustiis ejus occupatis, et præsidio modico relicto, *Isson* quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat. Inde progressus, ⁶ deturbatis, qui interiora montium obsidebant, præsidiiis cuncta firmavit: occupatoque itinere, sicut paulò antè dictum est, ⁷ idem et auctor et nuncius venit.

17. *Isson* inde Rex copias admovit: ubi consilio habito utrûmne ultrò progrediendum foret, an ibi opperendi essent milites novi, quos ex Macedoniâ adventare constabat; Parmenio non alium locum prælio aptiorem esse censebat. Quippe illic utriusque Regis copias numero futuras pares, eûm angustiae multitudinem non caperent: planitiem ipsis camposque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie opprimi possent: timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudine suâ vincerentur: ⁸ Persas recentes subinde successuros, si laxiùs stare potuissent. Facile ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque inter angustias saltûs opperiri statuit. Erat in exercitu Regis ⁹ Sisines Perses, quondam a Prætorè Ægypti missus ad Philippum; donisque et omni honore cultus, ¹⁰ exilium patriâ sede mutaverat: secutus deinde in Asiam Alexandrum, inter fideles socios habebatur. Huic epistolam Cretensis miles obsignatam annulo, ejus signum laud sanè notum erat, tradidit. Nabarzanes Prætor Darii miserat eam, hortabaturque Sisinem, ut dignum aliquid nobilitate ac moribus suis ederet. ¹¹ magno id ei apud Regem honori fore. ¹² Has litteras Sisines,

utpote innoxius, ad Alexandrum sæpe deferre tentavit: sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli Regem videret urgeri, aptius deinde tempus exspectans, suspicionem initi scelesti consilii præbuit. Namque epistola, priusquam ei redderetur, in manus Alexandri pervenerat, lectamque eam ignoti annuli sigillo impresso, Sisini dari jusserat, ad æstimandam fidem barbari. Qui, quia per complures dies non adierat Regem, scelesto consilio eam visus est suppressisse; et in agmine a Cretensibus, haud dubiè jussu Regis, occisus est.

VIII. 18. Jam Græci milites, quos Thymodes a Pharnabazo acceperat, præcipua spes, et propemodum unica, ad Darium pervenerant. Hi magnopere suadebant, ut retro abiret, spatiososque Mesopotamiæ campos repeteret. Si id consilium damnaret, at ille divideret saltem copias innumerabiles, neu sub unum fortunæ ictum totas vires regni cadere pateretur. Minus hoc consilium Regi, quàm purpuratis ejus displicebat: ² "Ancipitem fidem, et mercede venalem proditionem imminere, et dividi non ob aliud copias velle, quàm ut ipsi in diversa digressi, si quid commissum esset traderent Alexandro. Nihil tutius fore, quàm circumdatos eos exercitu toto obrui telis, documentum non inultæ perfidiæ futuros." At Darius, ut erat sanctus et mitis, "se verò tantum facinus" negat "esse facturum, ut suam secutos fidem, suos milites, jubeat trucidari. ³ Quam deinde ampliùs nationum exterarum salutem suam credituram sibi, si tot militum sanguine imbuisset manus? ⁴ Neminem stolidum consilium capite luere debere. Defuturos eos, qui suaderent, si suasisse periculum esset." Denique ipsos quotidie ad se vocari in consilium, variasque sententias dicere, ⁵ nec tamen melioris fidei haberi, qui prudentiùs suaserint. Itaque Græcis nunciari jubet, "ipsum quidem benevolentiae illorum gratias agere; cæterùm, si retro ire pergat haud dubiè regnum hostibus traditurum. ⁶ Famâ bella stare; et eum qui recedat, fugere credi. Trahendi verò belli vix ullam esse rationem. Tantæ enim multitudini, utique cum jam hyems instaret, in regione vastâ, et invicem a suis atque hoste vexatâ, non suffectura alimenta. Ne dividi quidem copias posse, servato mor-

majorum, qui universas vires semper discrimini bellorum obtulerant. Et hercule terribilem antea Regem et ⁷absentiâ suâ ad vanam fiduciam elatum, postquam adventare se senserit, cautum pro temerario factum, delituisse inter angustias saltûs, ritu ignobilium ferarum, quæ strepitu prætercuntium audito, sylvarum latebris se occuluerunt. Jam etiam valetudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites, sed non ampliùs ipsum esse passurum detrectare certamen. In illo specu, in quem pavidi recessissent, oppressurum esse cunctantes." Hæc magnificentiùs jactata, quàm veriùs.

19. Cæterùm pecuniâ omni, rebusque pretiosissimis, Damascus Syriæ cum modico præsidio militum missis, reliquas copias in Ciliciam duxit, insequentibus more patrio agmen conjuge et matre. Virgines quoque cum parvo filio comitabantur patrem. ⁸Fortè eâdem nocte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Darius ad eum locum, quem *Amanicas Pylas* vocant, pervenit. Nec dubitavêre Persæ, quin Isso relictâ, quam ceperant, Macedones fugerent. Nam etiam saucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant persequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, instinctu purpuratorum, barbarâ feritate sævientium, præcisis adustisque manibus circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent; satisque omnibus spectatis, nunciare quæ vidissent, Regi suo jussit. Motis ergò castris, superat Pinarum amnem, in tergis, ut credebat, fugientium hæsurus. At illi, quorum amputaverat manus, ad castra Macedonum penetrant, Darium, quàm maximo cursu posset, sequi nunciantes. Vix fides habebatur. Itaque speculatores in maritimas regiones præmissos explorare jubet, ipse adesset, an præfectorum aliquis speciem præbisset universi venientis exercitûs. Sed cùm speculatores ⁹reverterentur, procul ingens multitudo conspecta est. Ignis deinde totis campis collucere cœperunt, omniaque velut continenti incendio ardere visa, cùm ¹⁰incondita multitudo maximè propter jumenta laxiùs tenderet. Itaque eo ipso loco metari suos castra jusserat, lætus, ¹¹quod omni expetiverat voto, in illis potissimum angustis decernendum esse.

20. Cæterum, ut solet fieri, cum ultimi discriminis tempus adventat, in sollicitudinem versa fiducia est. Illam ipsam fortunam, quâ aspirante res tam prosperè gesserat, verebatur, ¹² nec injuriâ, ex his quæ tribuisset sibi, quàm mutabilis esset, reputabat: unam superesse noctem, quæ tanti discriminis moraretur eventum. Rursus occurrebat, majora periculis præmia: et sicut dubium esset an vineeret, ita illud utique certum esse, honestè et cum magnâ laude moriturum. Itaque, ¹³ corpora milites curare jussit, ac deinde tertiâ vigiliâ instructos et armatos esse. Ipse in jugum editi montis ascendit, multisque collucentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium Diis præsidibus loci fecit. Jamque tertium, sicut præceptum erat, ¹⁴ signum tubâ miles acceperat, itineri simul paratus et prælio: strenueque jussi procedere, oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias, quas occupare decreverant. Darium triginta inde stadia abesse, præmissi indicabant. Tunc consistere ¹⁵ agmen jubet, armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinabat.

21. Dario adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nunciaverunt, vix credenti occurrere etiam, quos, ut fugientes, sequèbatur. Ergo non medioeris omnium animos formido incesserat: quippe itineri quàm prælio aptiores erant, ¹⁶ raptimque arma capiebant. Sed ipsa festinatio discurrentium, suosque ad arma vocantium, majorem metum incussit. Alii in jugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent: equos plerique frænabant: discors exercitus, nec ad ¹⁷ unum intentus imperium, vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. Darius initio, montis jugum cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte, et a tergo circum-iturus hostem: ¹⁸ a mari quoque, quo dexterum ejus cornu tegebatur, alios objecturus, ut undique urgeret. Præter hæc, viginti millia præmissa cum sagittariorum manu, Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire, et objicere sese Macedonum copiis jusserat. Si id præstare non possent, retrocedere in montes, et occultè circumire ultimos hostium. Cæterum ¹⁹ destinata salubriter, omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: quippe alii præ metu imperium exequi non aude-

bant, alii frustra exsequebantur : quia ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

IX. 22. Acies autem hoc modo ¹ stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur, additis funditorum sagittariorumque viginti fermè millibus. In eodem Thymodes erat, Græcis peditibus mercede conductis triginta millibus præpositus. Hoc erat haud dubium robur exercitûs, par Macedoniæ phalangi acies. In lævo cornu Aristomedes Thessalus viginti millia Barbarorum peditum habebat. In ² subsidiis pugna-
cissimas locaverat gentes. Ipsum Regem in eodem cornu dimicaturum, tria millia delectorum equitum ³ assueta corporis custodiæ, et pedestris acies, quadraginta ⁴ millia, sequebantur. Hyrcani deinde Medique equites : his proximi cæterarum gentium equites dexterâ lævâque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est, instructum, sex millia jaculatorum funditorumque anteedebant. ⁵ Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, impleverant copiæ, ⁶ cornuaque hinc a jugo, illinc a mari stabant. Uxorem matremque Regis, et alium fœminarum gregem, in medium agmen acceperant.

23. Alexander phalangem, quâ nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in fronte constituit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor Parmenionis filius tuebatur : huic proximi stabant Cœnos, et Perdicas, et Meleager, et Ptolemæus, et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. In lævo, quod ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Parmenioni parere jussus. Equites ab utroque cornu locati, dextrum Macedones, Thessalis adjunctis, lævum Peloponnenses tuebantur. Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis ; Thraeces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati. At iis, qui præmissi a Dario jugum montis ⁷ insederant, ⁸ Agrianos opposuit, ex Græciâ nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem præceperat, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare tenderet, quò longius abesset montibus, quos occupaverant Barbari. At illi, neque obstare venientibus, nec circumire prætergressos ausi, funditorum maximè aspectu territi profugerant : ⁹ eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus, quod ne

supernè incesceretur, timuerat, præstitit. Triginta et duo armatorum ordines ibant; neque enim latius extendi aciem patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde se laxare sinus montium, et majus spatium aperire cœperant; ita ut non pedes solum pluribus ordinibus incedere, sed etiam a lateribus circumfundi posset equitatus.

X. 24. Jam in conspectu, sed extra teli jactum utraque acies erat, cùm priores Persæ inconditum et trucem sustulere ¹ clamorem. Redditur et a Macedonibus major, ² exercitûs impar numero, sed jugis montium, vastisque saltibus percussus; ³ quippe semper circumjecta nemora petræque, quantacumque acceperè vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. Alexander ante prima signa ibat, identidem manu ⁴ suos inhibens, ne suspensi, acriùs ob nimiam festinationem concitato spiritu, capesserent prælium. Cùmque agmini obequitaret, variâ oratione, ut cujusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. Macedones tot bellorum in Europâ victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima Orientis, ⁵ non ipsius magis, quàm suo ductu profecti, inveteratæ virtutis admonebantur. Illos terrarum ⁶ orbis liberatores, ⁷ emensosque olim Herculis et Liberi patris terminos, non Persis modò, sed etiam omnibus gentibus imposituros jugum. ⁸ Macedonum Bactra et Indos fore: minima esse quæ nunc intuerentur, sed omnia victoriâ parari. Non præruptis petris Illyriorum, et Thraciæ saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. Vix gladio futurum opus; totam aciem suo pavore fluctuantem, ⁹ umbonibus posse propelli. Victor ad hæc Atheniensium Philippus pater invocabatur, domitæque nuper Bœotiæ, et urbis in eâ nobilissimæ, ad solum dirutæ, species repræsentabatur animis: jam Granicum amnem, jam tot urbes aut expugnatas, aut in fidem acceptas, omniaque quæ post tergum erant, strata, et pedibus ipsorum subiecta, memorabat. Cùm adierat Græcos, admonebat, “ ab iis gentibus illata Græciæ bella, Darii priùs, deinde Xerxis insolentiâ, aquam ipsam terramque populantium, ut neque fontium haustum, nec solitos cibos relinquerent. Dein Deûm templa ruinis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum ex

pugnatas, fœdera humani divinique juris violata" referebat. Illyrios verò et Thracas, raptò vivere assuetos, aciem hostium, auro purpurâque fulgentem intueri jubebat, ¹⁰ prædam, non arma gestantem. Irent, et imbellibus fœminis aurum ¹¹ viri eriperent. Aspera montium suorum juga, nudosque colles et perpetuo rigentes gelu, ditibus Persarum campis agrisque ¹² mutarent.

XI. 25. Jam ¹ ad teli jactum pervenerant, cùm Persarum equites ferociter in lævum cornu hostium invecti sunt. ² Quippe Darius equestri prælio decernere optabat, phalangem Macedonici exercitûs robur esse coniectans. Jamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur: quod ubi Macedo conspexit, ³ duabus alis equitum ad jugum montis jussis subsistere, cæteros in medium belli discrimen strenuè transfert. Subductis deinde ex acie Thessalis equitibus. Præfectum eorum ⁴ occultè circumire tergum suorum jubet, Parmenionique conjungi, et quod is imperâsset, impigrè exequi. Jamque ipsi in medium Persarum undique circumfusi egregiè se tuebantur: sed conserti, et quasi cohærentes, tela vibrare non poterant. ⁵ Simul erant emissa, ⁶ in eodem concurrentia implicabantur, levique et vano ictu pauca in hostem, plura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo cominûs pugnam coacti conserere, gladios impigrè stringunt. Tum verò multum sanguinis fusum est: duæ quippe acies ita cohærebant, ut armis arma pulsarent, ⁷ mucrones in ora dirigerent: non timido, non ignavo cessare tum licuit: ⁸ collato pede, quasi singuli inter se dimicarent, in eodem vestigio stabant, donec vincendo locum sibi facerent. Tum demum ergo promovebant gradum, cùm hostem prostraverant. At illos novus exicipiebat adversarius fatigatos: nec vulnerati, ut aliàs solent, acie poterant excedere, cùm hostis instaret a fronte, a tergo sui urgerent.

26. Alexander, non ducis magis quàm militis munera exsequebatur; ⁹ opimum decus cæso Rege expetens. Quippe Darius curru sublimis eminebat, et suis ad se tuendum, et hostibus ad incessendum, ingens ¹⁰ incitamentum. Ergo frater ejus Oxathres, cùm Alexandrum instare ei cerneret, equites,

quibus præerat, ante ipsum currum Regis objecit, armis et robore corporis multum super cæteros eminens, animo verò et pietate ¹¹ in paucissimis; illo utique prælio clarus, alios improvidè instantes prostravit, alios in fugam avertit. At Macedones, qui circa Regem erant, mutuâ adhortatione firmati, cum ipso in equitum agmen irrumpunt. Tum verò similis ruinæ strages erat. Circa currum Darii jacebant nobilissimi duces, ante oculos Regis egregiâ morte defuncti, omnes in ora proni, sicut dimicantes procubuerant, ¹² adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis. Inter hos Atizyes, et Rheomithres, et Sabaces Prætor Ægypti, magnorum exercituum præfecti, noscitabantur: circa eos cumulata erat peditum equitumque obscurior turba. Macedonum quoque, non quidem multi, sed promptissimi tamen, cæsi sunt. Inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone ¹³ perstrictum est.

27. Jamque, qui Darium vehabant equi confossi hastis, et dolore efferati, jugum quatere, et Regem curru excutere cœperant: cum ille, veritus ne vivus veniret in hostium potestatem, desilit, et in equum, qui ¹⁴ ad hoc ipsum sequebatur, imponitur: insignibus quoque Imperii, ne fugam proderent, indecorè abjectis. Tum verò cæteri dissipantur metu; et quæ cuique patebat ad fugam via, erumpunt, arma jacentes, quæ paulò antè ad tutelam corporum sumpserant: ¹⁵ adeò pavor etiam auxilia formidat. Instabat fugientibus eques a Parmenione missus, et forte in id cornu omnes fuga abstulerat. At in dextro, Persæ Thessalos equites vehementer urgebant. Jamque una ala ipso impetu proculcata erat, ¹⁶ cum Thessali dilapsi, strenuè circumactis equis, rursus in prælium redeunt, sparsosque et incompósitos victoriæ fiduciâ Barbaros ingenti cæde prosternunt. Equi pariter equitesque Persarum, ¹⁷ serie laminarum graves, ¹⁸ agmen, quod celeritate maximè constat, ægrè moliebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis suis Thessali multos occupaverant. Hac tam prosperâ pugnâ nunciatâ, Alexander non antè ausus persequi barbaros, utrimque jam victor instare fugientibus cœpit. Haud ampliùs Regem quàm mille equites sequebantur, cum ingens multitudo hostium ca-

deret. Sed quis aut in victoriâ aut in fugâ copias numerat? Agebantur ergo a tam paucis pecorum modo; et idem metus qui cogebat fugere fugientes morabatur.

28. At Græci qui in Darii partibus steterant Amyntâ duce (prætor hic Alexandri fuit, nunc transfuga) abrupti a cæteris, ¹⁹haud sanè fugientibus similes evaserant. Barbari longè diversam fugam intenderunt: alii quâ rectum iter in Persidem ducebat: quidam circuitu rupes, saltusque montium occultos petivère, pauci castra Darii. Sed jam illa quoque victor intraverat, omni quidem opulentiâ ditia. Ingens auri argenti-que pondus, non belli, sed luxuriæ apparatus diripuerant milites. Cùmque plus raperent, passim strata erant itinera vilioribus sarcinis, quas in comparatione meliorum avaritia contempserat. Jamque ad fœminas perventum erat, quibus, quò cariora ornamenta sunt, violentiùs detrahebantur; ne corporibus quidem vis, ac libido parecebat. Omnia planetu tumultuque, prout cuique fortuna erat, repleverant: ²⁰nec ulla facies mali deerat; cùm per omnes ordines ætatesque victoris crudelitas ac licentia vagaretur. ²¹Tunc verò impotentis fortunæ species conspici potuit, cùm ii, qui tum Dario tabernaculum exornaverant, omni luxu et opulentiâ instructum, eadem illa Alexandro, quasi veteri domino, reservabant. Namque id solum intactum omiserant milites; ita tradito more, ut victorem victi Regis tabernaculo exciperent.

29. Sed omnium oculos animosque in semet converterant, captiva mater conjuxque Darii. Illa, non majestate solùm, sed etiam ætate venerabilis; hæc, ²²formæ pulchritudine, ne illâ quidem sorte corruptâ. Aceperat in sinum filium, nondum sextum ætatis annum egressum, in spem tantæ fortunæ, quantum paulò antè pater ejus amiserat, genitum. At in gremio autè aviæ jacebant adultæ virgines duæ, non suo tantùm, sed illius etiam mœrore confectæ. Ingens circa eam nobilium fœminarum turba constiterat. ²³laceratis crinibus, abscissâque veste, pristini decoris immemores, Reginas, dominasque, ²⁴veris quondam, tunc alienis nominibus invocantes. Illæ suæ calamitatis oblitæ, utro cornu Darius stetisset, quæ for-

tuna discriminis fuisset, requirebant. Negabant se captas, si viveret Rex. Sed illum, equos subinde mutantem, longiùs fuga abstulerat. In acie autem ² cæsa sunt Persarum peditum centum millia: decem verò millia interfecta equitum. At a parte Alexandri quatuor et quingenti saucii fuere, triginta omuino et duo ex peditibus desiderati sunt, equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit.

XII. 30. Rex, qui diu Darium persequendo fatigatus erat, postquam et nox appetebat, et cum consequendi ¹ spes non erat, in castra paulo antè a suis capta pervenit. Invitari deinde amicos, quibus maximè assueverat, jussit: quippe summa duntaxat cutis in femore perstricta, non prohibebat interesse convivio. Tum repentè e proximo tabernaculo lugubris clamor, barbaro ululatu, planctuque permixtus, epulantes contrruit. Cohors quoque, quæ excubabat ad tabernaculum regis, verita ne majoris motus principium esset, armare se cœperat. Causa pavoris subiti fuit, quòd mater uxorque Darii, cum captivis nobilibus, Regem, quem interfectum esse credebant, ingenti gemitu ejulatuque deflebant. Unus namque e captis spadonibus, qui fortè ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum, (quod Darius, sicut paulò antè dictum est, ne ² cultu proderetur, abjecerat,) in manibus ejus qui repertum ferebat, agnovit: ratusque interfecto detractum esse, falsum nuncium mortis ejus attulerat. Hoc mulierum errore comperto, Alexander fortunæ Darii, et pietati earum illacrymâsse fertur. Ac primò Mithrenem, qui Sardes prodiderat, peritum Persicæ linguæ, ire ad consolandas eas jusserat. Veritus deinde, ne proditor captivarum iram doloremque gravaret, Leonatum ex purpuratis suis misit, jussum indicare, falsò lamentari eas vivum. Ille cum paucis ³ armigeris in tabernaculum, in quo captivæ erant, pervenit, missumque a Rege se, nunciari jubet. At ii, qui in vestibulo erant, ut armatos conspexere, rati ⁴ actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculum currunt, vociferantes, adesse supremam horam, missosque qui occiderent captas. Itaque, ut quæ nec prohibere possent,

nec admittere auderent, nullo responso dato, tacitæ opperiebantur victoris arbitrium. Leonatus, expectato diu qui se intromitteret, postquam nemo prodire audebat, relictis in vestibulo satellitibus, intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat fœminas quòd ⁶ irrupisse, non admissus, videbatur. Itaque mater et conjux ⁷ provolutæ ad pedes orare cœperunt, ut, priùs quàm interficerentur, Darii corpus ipsis patrio more sepelire permetteret: functas supremo in Regem officio se impigrè moritûras. ⁸ Leonatus, et vivere Darium, et ipsas non incolumes modò, sed etiam apparatu pristinae fortunæ Reginas fore. Tum demum mater Darii allevari se passa est.

31. Alexander postero die, cùm curam sepeliendis militibus impenderet, quorum corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi jubet, matrique Darii permittit, quos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. Illa paucos arcè propinquitate conjunctos pro habitu præsents fortunæ humari jussit, apparatus funerum, quo Persæ suprema officia celebrarent, invidiosum fore existimans, cùm victores haud pretiosè cremarentur. Jamque ⁹ justis defunctorum corporibus solutis, præmittit ad captivas, qui nunciarent ipsum venire, inhibitaque comitantium turbâ, ¹⁰ tabernaculum cum Hephæstione intrat. Is longè omniùm amicorùm carissimus erat Regi: cum ipso pariter educatus, secretorùm omnium ¹¹ arbiter; libertatis quoque in admonendo eo ¹² non aliud jus habebat; quod tamen ita usurpabat, ¹³ ut magis a Rege permissum, quàm vindicatum ab eo videretur; et sicut ætate par erat Regi, ita ¹⁴ corporis habitu præstabat. Ergo Reginae illum Regem esse ratæ, ¹⁵ suo more veneratæ sunt. Inde ex spadonibus captivis, quis Alexander esset, ¹⁶ monstrantibus, Sisygambis advoluta est pedibus ejus, ignorationem nunquam antea visi Regis excusans. Quam manu allevans Rex: "Non errasti," inquit, "mater; ¹⁷ nam et hic Alexander est."

32. ¹⁸ Equidem, si hac continentia animi ad ultimum vitæ perseverare potuisset, feliciorẽ fuisse crederem, quàm visus est esse, cùm Liberi patris imitaretur triumphum, ab Hellesponto usque ad Oceanum omnes gentes victoriã emensus: sic

vicisset profectò superbiam atque iram, mala invicta, sic abstinisset inter epulas cædibus amicorum; egregiosque bello viros, et tot gentium secum domitores, ¹⁹ indietâ causâ veritus esset occidere. Sed nondum fortuna se animo ejus ²⁰ superfuderat. Itaque orientem eam, moderatè et prudenter tulit: ²¹ ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum Reges, et continentîâ et elementîâ vinceret. Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ, tam sanctè habuit, quàm si eodem, quo ipse, parente genitæ forent. Conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, ²² adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ²³ ne quis captivo corpori illuderet. Omnem cultum reddi fœminis jussit, nec quidquam ex pristinæ fortunæ magnificentîâ captivis, præter fiduciam, defuit. Itaque Sisygambis: “Rex,” inquit, “mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quæ Dario nostro quondam precatæ sumus: et, ut video, dignus es, qui tantum Regem non felicitate solùm, sed etiam ²⁴ æquitate superaveris. Tu quidem matrem me et Reginam vocas, sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. ²⁵ Et præteritæ fortunæ fastigium capio et præsentis jugum pati possum. ²⁶ Tuâ interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potiùs elementîâ quàm sævitiâ vis esse testatum.” Rex bonum animum habere eas ²⁷ jussit: Darii deinde filium collo suo admovit. Atque nil ille conspectu tunc primùm a se visi conterritus, cervicem ejus manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo Rex constantîâ pueri, ²⁸ Hephæstionem intuens: “Quam vellem,” inquit, “Darius aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!” Tum tabernaculo egressus, tribus aris in ripâ Pinari amnîs, Jovi atque Herculi, Minervæque sacratis, Syriam petit, Damascum, ubi Regis gaza erat, Parmenione præmisso.

XIII. 33. Atque ¹is cùm præcessisse Darii satrapam comperisset, veritus ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere majorem manum statuit. Sed fortè in exploratores ab eo præmissos incidit nazione Mardus, qui ad Parmenionem perductus, litteras ad Alexandrum, a Præfecto Damasci missas, tradidit ei; nec dubitare ²cum, quin omnem regiam supellæ

tilem cum pecuniâ traderet, adjecit. Parmenio, asservari eo jusso, litteras aperit: in quæis erat scriptum, ut maturè Alexander aliquem ex duceibus suis mitteret cum manu exiguâ. Itaque re cognitâ, Mardum datis ³ comitibus ad proditorem remittit. Ille, e manibus custodientium lapsus, Damaseum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis et ignotum iter sine duce non ⁴ audebat ingredi. Felicitati tamen Regis sui confisus, agrestes, ⁵ qui duces itineris essent, excipi jussit: quibus celeriter repertis, quarto die ad urbem pervenit, jam metuente Præfecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. Igitur, quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens, ante solis ortum pecuniam regiam, (*gazam* Persæ vocant,) cùm pretiosissimis rerum efferri jubet, fugam simulans. reverà ut prædam hosti offerret.

34. Multa millia virorum fœminarumque excedentem oppido sequebantur; ⁶ omnibus miserabilis turba, præter eum, cujus fidei commissa fuerat: quippe, quò major proditionis merces foret, objicere hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecuniâ prædam, nobiles ⁷ viros, Prætorum Darii conjuges liberosque; præter hos, urbium Græcarum legatos, quos Darius velut in arce tutissimâ, in proditoris reliquerat manibus. *Gangabas* Persæ vocant humeris onera portantes: hi cùm frigus tolerare non possent (quippe et procella subitò nivem effuderat, et humus rigebat gelu) tum ⁸ astrictas vestes, quas cum pecuniâ portabant, auro et purpurâ insignes, induunt, nullo prohibere auso; ⁹ cùm fortuna Regis, etiam humillimis, in ipsum licentiam faceret. Præbuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem, qui ¹⁰ intentiore curâ suos, quasi ad ¹¹ justum prælium, paucis adhortatus, equis calcaria subdere jubet, et acri impetu in hostem inveli. At illi, qui sub oneribus erant, omissis illis per metum, capessunt fugam. Armati quoque, qui eos sequebantur, eodem metu arma jactare, ac nota diverticula petere cœperunt. Præfectus quasi et ipse conterritus, ¹² simul cuncta pavore compleverat. Jacebant totis campis opes regie; illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum præparata; ille cultus tot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium fœminarum:

aurea vasa; aurei fræni; tabernacula regali magnificentiâ ornata; vehicula quoque a suis destituta, ingentis opulentiae plena: ¹³ facies etiam prædantibus tristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. ¹⁴ Quippe tot annorum incredibili et fidem excedente fortunâ cumulata, tunc alia stirpibus dilacerata, alia in cœnum demersa eruebantur: non sufficiebant prædantium manus prædæ.

35. Jamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat. Fœminæ pleræque parvos trahentes liberos ibant, inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi (qui ante Darium regnaverat) filiae, olim quidem ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractæ, sed tum sortem earum crudeliùs aggravante fortunâ. In eodem grege uxor quoque ejusdem Ochi fuit, Oxathrisque (frater hic erat Darii) filia, et conjux Artabazi principis purpuratorum: et filius, cui Ilioneo fuit nomen. Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimæ oræ Rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est; Mentoris filiae tres, ac nobilissimi ducis Memnonis conjux, et filius: ¹⁵ vixque ulla domus purpurati fuit tantæ cladis expers. Lacedæmonii quoque, et Athenienses, societatis fide violatâ, Persas secuti: Aristogiton, Dropides, et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses, genere famâque longè clarissimi: Lacedæmonii, Pausippus, et Onomastorides, cum Monimo et Callieratide, ii quoque domi nobiles. Summa ¹⁶ pecuniæ signatæ fuit, talentorum duo millia et sexaginta; ¹⁷ facti argenti pondus quingenta æquabat. Præterea triginta millia hominum, cum septem millibus jumentorum, dorso onera portantium, capta sunt. Cæterùm Dii tantæ fortunæ proditorem celeriter debitâ poenâ persecuti sunt. Namque unus e consueis ejus, ¹⁸ credo, Regis vicem etiam in illâ sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Darium tulit, opportunum solatium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat, et nondum in omnium animis memoriam majestatis suæ exolevisse cernebat

LIBER IV.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Alexander, litteris a Dario superbè scriptis, regiè respondet. Abdalonymum Sidonis Regem præficit. Amyntas transfuga, miro modo a Persis ipsis occiditur. Variæ variis locis præfectorum Darii clades.

2. Tyrii, Alexandrum recipere recusantes, obsidentur.

3. Dubiis belli eventibus Tyri obsidio nobilitatur.

4. Tandem Tyrus vi capta, maximâque hominum strage corrupta, luctuoso deformatur incendio.

5. Darii iterata de pace ad Alexandrum submissior legatio: quâ repudiata, Græci Alexandrum coronâ aureâ donant: ille autem per præfectos multas in potestatem suam redigit provincias.

6. Ad bellum dum se accingit Darius, Alexander Gazam expugnat: ejusque præfectum Betim crudeli afficit supplicio.

7. Profectio, et varia Alexandri quæsitâ ad Jovis Hammonis oraculum.

8. In Ægypto Alexandria condita; variæque Alexandri bellicæ expeditiones.

9. Darius ad Arbela pervenit, eoque invito Alexander Tigrim superat.

10. Milites, ob Lunæ defectum turbatos, per Ægyptios vates confirmat Alexander: Persas vastatores conjicit in fugam. Darii uxor captiva, mœrore confecta, supremum diem claudit, unde Alexandri lacrymæ, Darii suspiciones, luctus, et vota.

11. Pacem tertiò quæsitam Darius non impetrat: imò ad deditionem, aut ad bellum, ab Alexandro provocatur.

12. Ad prælium dum Persarum ingens exercitus paratur, Macedones panico quodam defuncti terrore, arma alacriter capessunt.

13. Consilia de nocturno prælio Parmenionis et Polyspercontis Alexander damnat: somnoque refectus, interrito vultu suos ad pugnam accendit.

14. Alexandri ad Græcorum, Dariique ad Persarum exercitus, ante pugnam orationes.

15. Cruentâ ad Arbela prælii descriptio. Victor Alexander, Darium victum persequitur.

16. Parmenio in discrimine constitutus, Alexandrum retrahit. Tandem integrâ victoriâ potiti Macedones, reliquos Persas, multis suorum millibus desideratis, fugâ sibi querere salutem cogunt.

I. 1. DARIUS tanti modò exercitûs Rex, qui triumphantis magis, quàm dimicantis more, curru sublimis inierat prælium, per loca, quæ propè immensis agminibus compleverat, jam inania, et ingenti solitudine vasta, ¹ fugiebat. Pauci Regem sequebantur. Nam nec eòdem omnes fugam intenderant, et deficientibus equis, cursum ² eorum, quos Rex subinde mutabat, æquare non poterant. Unchas deinde pervenit, ubi exepère cum Græcorum quatuor millia, cum quibus ad Euphratē

contendit, id demum credens ³ fore ipsius, quod celeritate præripere potuisset. At Alexander Parmenionem, ⁴ per quem apud Damascum recepta erat præda, jussum eam ipsam, et captivos diligenti asservare custodiâ, Syriæ, quam Cœlen vocant, præfecit. Novum imperium Syri, nondum belli cladibus satis domiti, aspernabantur: sed celeriter subacti, obedienter ⁵ imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoque insula deditur Regi Maritimam tamen oram, et pleraque longiùs etiam a mari recedentia, Rex ejus insulæ Strato possidebat: quo in fidem accepto, castra movit ad urbem Marathon. Ibi illi litteræ a Dario redduntur: quibus, ut superbè scriptis, vehementer offensus est. ⁶ Præcipuè eum movit, quòd Darius sibi Regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini adscripserat. ⁷ Postulabat autem magis, quàm petebat, ut acceptâ pecuniâ, ⁸ quantumcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi, ac conjugem, liberosque restitueret. De regno, ⁹ æquo, si vellet, Marte contenderet. Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, ¹⁰ contentas patrio, cederet alieni imperii finibus; socius amicusque esset: in ea se fidem et dare paratum, et accipere.

2. Contra Alexander in hunc ¹¹ maximè modum rescripsit: “**REX ALEXANDER DARIO.** Ille, cujus nomen sumpsisti, Darius, Græcos, qui oram Hellesponti tenent, coloniasque Græcorum Ionias omni clade vastavit: cum magno deinde exercitu mare trajecit, illato Macedoniae et Græciæ bello. Rursus Xerxes gentis ejusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit: qui, navali prælio victus, Mardonium tamen reliquit in Græciâ, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret. ¹² Philippum verò parentem meum quis ignorat ab his interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniæ spe sollicitaverant vestri? Impia enim bella suscipitis, et cum habeatis arma, ¹³ licitamini hostium capita, sicut tu ¹⁴ proximè talentis mille tanti exercitus Rex, percussorem in me emere voluisti. Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et Diis quoque pro meliore stantibus causâ, magnam partem Asiæ in ditionem redegei meam: te ipsum acie vici: quem etsi nihil a me impetrare oportebat, quod petieras, ¹⁵ utpote qui ne belli quidem in me

jura servaveris; tamen si veneris supplex, et matrem, et conjugem, et liberos, sine pretio recepturum te esse promitto. Et vincere, et ¹⁶ consulere victis scio. Quòd si te nobis committere times, dabimus fidem impunè venturum. De cætero, cùm mihi scribes, ¹⁷ memento non solùm Regi te, sed etiam tuo, scribere." Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus missus. ¹⁸ Ipse in Phœnicem deindè descendit, et oppidum Byblon traditum recepit.

3. Inde ad ¹⁹ Sidonam ventum est, urbem vetustate, famâque conditorum inclytam. Regnabat in ea Strato, ²⁰ Darii opibus adjutus; sed quia deditionem magis popularium, quàm suâ sponte, fecerat, regno visus indignus, Hephæstionique permissum, ut quem ²¹ eo fastigio e Sidoniis dignissimum arbitraretur, constitueret Regem. Erant Hephæstioni ²² hospites, clari inter suos juvenes, qui factâ ipsis potestate regnandi, ²³ negaverunt quemquam patrio more in id fastigium recipi, nisi regiâ stirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephæstio magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii per ignes ferrumque peterent: "Vos quidem ²⁴ macti virtute," inquit, "estote, qui primi intellexistis, quantò majus esset regnum fastidire, quàm accipere. Cæterùm date aliquem regiâ stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis acceptum habere se regnum." At illis cùm multos ²⁵ imminere tantæ spei cernerent, singulis amicorum Alexandri ob nimiam regni cupiditatem adulantes, statuunt neminem esse ²⁶ potiorum, quàm Abdalonymum quemdam, longâ quidem cognatione stirpi regiâ annexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exiguâ colentem stipe. Causa ei paupertatis, sicut plerisque, probitas erat; intentusque operi diurno, strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, ²⁷ non exaudiebat.

4. ²⁸ Subitò deindè, de quibus antè dictum est, cum regiâ vestis insignibus hortum intrant, ²⁹ quem forte, steriles herbas eligens, Abdalonymus repurgabât. Tunc Rege eo salutato, alter ex his: ³⁰ "Habitus," inquit, "hic vestis quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus, illuvie, terræque sordibus squalidum. Cape Regis animum, et in eam fortunam, quâ dignus es, istam continen-

tiam profer. Et cùm in regali solio residebis, vitæ necisque omnium civium dominus, ³¹ cave ne obliviscaris hujus statûs, in quo accipis regnum; imò herculè propter quem." Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur. Interdùm, satisne sani essent, qui tam protervè sibi illuderent, percontabatur. Sed ut cunctanti squalor ablutus est, et ³² injecta vestis purpurâ auroque distincta, et fides a jurantibus facta; seriò jam Rex, iisdem comitantibus, in regiam pervenit. Fama deinde, ut solet, strenuè totâ urbe discurret: ³³ aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat. Ditissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque ejus apud amicos Alexandri criminabatur. Admitti cum Rex protinùs jussit, diùque contemplatus: ³⁴ "Corporis," inquit, "habitus famæ generis non repugnat: sed libet scire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris." Tum ille: "Utinam," inquit, "eodem animo regnum pati possim. Hæ manus suffecêre desiderio meo: ³⁵ nihil haventi, nihil defuit." ³⁶ Magnæ indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modò regiam supellectilem attribui ei jussit, sed pleaque etiam ex Persicâ prædâ: regionem quoque urbi appositam, ditioni ejus adjecit.

5. Intereà Amyntas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro transfugisse diximus cum quatuor millibus Græcorum, ipsum ex acie persecutis, fugâ Tripolim pervenit. Indè in naves militibus impositis, Cyprum transmisit, ³⁷ et cùm in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occupâsset, habiturum arbitraretur, velut certo jure possessum, Ægyptum petere decrevit. Utrique regi hostis, et semper ex ancipiti mutatione temporum pendens, hortatusque milites ad spem tantæ rei, docet, Sabacem Prætozem Ægypti cecidisse in acie; Persarum præsidium et sine duce esse, et invalidum; Ægyptios semper Prætoribus eorum infensos, pro sociis ipsos, non pro hostibus, æstimaturos. Omnia experiri necessitas cogebat: quippè cùm primas spes fortuna destituit, futura præsentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, ³⁸ duceret, quò videretur. Atque ille ³⁹ utendum animis, dùm spe calerent, ratus, ad Pelusii ostium penetrat, simulans a Dario se esse præmissum. Potitus ergò

Pelusii, Memphim copias promovit: ad cujus famam Ægyptii, vana gens, et novandis quàm gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quisque vicis urbibusque ⁴⁰[ad hoc ipsum] concurrunt, ad delenda præsidia Persarum: qui territi, tamen spem retinendi Ægyptum non amiserunt. Sed eos Amyntas, prælio superatos, in urbem compellit, ⁴¹castrisque positis, victores ad populandos agros, velut in medio positis hostium cunctis, vagabantur. Itaque Mazaces, quanquàm infelici prælio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et ⁴²victoriæ fiduciâ incautos ostentans, perpulit, ne dubitarent ex urbe erumpere, et res amissas recuperare. Id consilium non ratione prudentius, quàm eventu felicius fuit. Ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has pœnas Amyntas utrique Regi dedit, nihilomagis ⁴³ei ad quem transfugerat fidus, quàm illi, quem deseruerat.

6. Darii Prætores, qui prælio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quæ fugientes secuta erat, assumptâ etiam Cappadocum et Paphlagonum juventute, Lydiam recuperare tentabant. Antigonus Prætor Alexandri Lydiæ præerat: qui, quanquam plerosque militum ex præsidiis ad Regem dimiserat, tamen Barbaris spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoque fortuna partium fuit. Tribus præliis aliâ atque aliâ regione commissis, Persæ funduntur. Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Græciâ accita, Aristomenem, qui ad Hellesponti oram recuperandam a Dario erat missus, captis ejus aut demersis navibus, superat. A Milesiis deindè Pharnabazus ⁴⁴præfectus Persicæ classis pecuniâ exactâ, et præsidio in urbem Clium introducto, centum navibus Andrum, et indè Syphnum petiit: eas quoque insulas præsidiis occupat, pecuniâ mulctat. Magnitudo belli quod ab opulentissimis Europæ Asiæque regibus in spem totius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Græciæ quoque et Cretæ arma commoverat. Agis Lacedæmoniorum Rex, octo millibus Græcorum, qui ex Ciliciâ profugi domos repetierant, contractis, bellum Antipatro Macedoniæ præfecto moliebatur. ⁴⁵Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti, nunc Spartanorum, nunc Macedonum præsidiis occupa-

bantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere discrimina: ⁴⁰ unum certamen, ex quo cætera pendebant, intuenſe fortunâ.

II. 7. Jam tota Syria, jam Phœnice quoque, exceptâ Tyro, Macedonum erat: habebatque Rex castra in continenti, a quo urbem angustum fretum dirimit. Tyrus et claritate et magnitudine ante omnes urbes Syriæ Phœnicesque memorabilis, faciliùs societatem Alexandri acceptura videbatur, quàm imperium. Coronam igitur auream legati donum afferebant, commeatusque largè et hospitaliter ex oppido advexerant. Ille dona, ut ab amicis, accipi jussit, benigneque legatos allocutus, Herculi, quem præcipuè Tyrii colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit: Macedonum Reges credere ab illo Deo ipsos genus ducere: se verò, ut id faceret, etiam oraculo monitum. Legati respondent, esse templum Herculis extra urbem, in eâ sede quam Palætyron ipsi vocant: Ibi Regem Deo sacrum ritè facturum. Non tenuit iram Alexander, cujus alioquin ¹ potens non erat. ² Itaque, "Vos quidem," inquit, "fiduciâ loci, quòd insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis: sed brevi ostendam, in continenti vos esse. Proindè sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem, aut oppugnaturum." Cum hoc responso dimissos monere amici cœperunt, ut Regem, quem Syria, quem Phœnice recepiſſet, ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. At illi, loco satis fisi, obsidionem ferre decreverunt.

8. Namque urbem a continenti quatuor stadiorum fretum dividit, Africo maximè objectum, crebros ex alto fluctus in littus ³ volventi, nec ⁴ occipiendo operi, quæ Macedones continenti insulam jungere parabant, quidquam magis, quàm ille ventus, obſtabat. Quippè vix leni et tranquillo mari, moles agi poſſunt: Africus verò prima quæque congesta, pulſu illiſa, mari ſubruit: nec ulla tam firma moles eſt, quàm non ⁵ exedant undæ, et per nexus operum manantes, et, ubi ærior flatus exſtitit, ſummi operis faſtigio ſuperfuſæ. Præter hanc difficultatem, haud minor alia erat: muros turresque urbis præaltum mare ambiabat. ⁶ Non tormenta, niſi e navibus procul excuſſa, mitti, non ſcalæ mœnibus applicari poterant.

⁷Præceps in salum murus pedestre interceperat iter: naves nec habebat Rex; et, si admovisset, ⁸pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. Inter quæ parva dictu res Tyrriorum fiduciam accendit. Carthaginensium legati ad celebrandum anniversarium sacrum more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, ⁹semper parentum loco culti. Hortari ergò Pœni cœperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur, brevi Carthagine auxilia ventura: namque eâ tempestate, magnâ ex parte, Punicis classibus maria obsidebantur.

9. Igitur bello decreto, per muros turresque tormenta disponunt: arma junioribus dividunt, ¹⁰opificesque, quorum copiâ urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt: ferreæ quoque manus ¹¹(*harpagonas* vocant) quas operibus hostium injicerent, corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata, præparabantur. Sed cùm fornacibus ferum, quod excudi oportebat, impositum esset, admotisque folli-bus ignem flatu ¹²accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis exitisse dicuntur; ¹³idque omen in Macedonum metum vert-runt Tyrii. ¹⁴Apud Macedonas quoque, cùm fortè panem quidam militum frangeret, manantis sanguinis guttas notave-runt; terroreque Rege, Aristander peritissimus vatum, "si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id triste futurum," ait: "contrà, cum ab interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitum portendere." Alexander cùm et classem procul haberet, et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cætera impedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos compellerent, misit: quos Tyrii ¹⁵contra jus gentium occisos præcipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indignâ nece commotus, urbem obsidere statuit. Sed antè jacienda moles erat, quæ urbem continenti committeret. Ingens ergò animos militum desperatio incessit, cernentium profundum mare, quod vix divinâ ope posset impleri: "Quæ saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse reperiri?" ¹⁶exhaurien-das esse regiones, ut illud spatium aggeraretur: exæstuarè semper fretum, quòque arctiùs volutetur inter insulam et con-

tinentem, hòc acriùs furere." At ille haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat dextram porrigentis: illo duce, illo aperiente, in urbem intrare se visum. Inter hæc caduceatores interfectos, gentium jura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quæ cursum victoris morari ausa esset. Ducibus deindè negotium datur, ut suos quisque castiget: satisque omnibus stimulis, opus orsus est. Magna vis saxorum ¹⁷ ad manum erat, Tyro vetere præbente: materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehabatur.

10. Jamque a fundo maris in altitudinem modicam opus excreverat, nondùm tamen aquæ fastigium æquabat: et quò longiùs moles agebatur a littore, hòc magis quicquid ingerebatur, præaltum absorbebat mare: Tyrii, parvis navigiis admotis, per ludibrium exprobrabant, "illos, armis inelytos, dorso, sicut jumenta, onera gestare." Interrogabant etiam, "num major Neptuno esset Alexander?" Hæc ipsa ¹⁸ insectatio alacritatem militum accendit. Jamque paululùm moles aquam eminebat, et simul aggeris latitudo crescebat, urbiq;ue admovebatur; cùm Tyrii, magnitudine molis, ejus incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspectâ, levibus navigiis ¹⁹ nondùm commissum opus circumire cœperunt, missilibus eos quoque, qui pro opere stabant, incessère. Multis ergò impunè vulneratis, cùm et removere, et appellere scaphas ²⁰ in expedito esset, ad curam semetipsos tuendi ab opere converterant. ²¹ Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque jussit obtendi, ut extra teli ictum essent; duasque turres ex capite molis erexit, e quibus in subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri possent. Contrâ, Tyrii navigia procul a conspectu hostium littori appellunt, expositisque militibus, eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant. In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes, incompressos Macedonas aggressi, triginta ferè interficiunt, paucioribus captis.

III. 11. Ea res Alexandrum dividere copias coegit. Et ne segniter assidere uni urbi videretur, operi Perdiccam Craterumque præfecit: ipse cum expeditâ manu Arabiam petiit. Inter hæc, Tyrii navem magnitudine eximiâ, saxis arenâque a

puppi oneratam, ita ut multum prora emineret, bitumine ac sulphure illitam remis conceitaverunt: et cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit. Tunc prorâ ejus accensâ, remiges desilière in scaphas, quæ ad hoc ipsum præparatæ sequebantur. Navis autem, igne concepto, latius fundere incendium cœpit: quod, priusquam posset occurrî, turres, et cætera opera in ¹capite molis posita comprehendit. At qui desilierant in parva navigia, faces, et quidquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera ingerunt. Jamque non modò Macedonum turres, sed etiam ²summa tabulata, conceperant ignem: cum ii, qui in turribus erant, partim haurirentur incendio; partim armis omissis in mare semetipsi immitterent. At Tyrii, qui ³capere eos, quàm interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati impunè navigiis excipi possent: nec incendio solùm opera consumpta, sed fortè eodem die vehementior ventus motum ex profundo mare illisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus compages operis verberatæ se laxavère, saxaque interfluens unda medium opus rupit. Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus injecta terra sustinebatur, præceps in profundum ruit, tantæque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit, ab Arabiâ rediens, Alexander.

12. ⁴Ille (quod in adversis rebus solet fieri) alius in alium culpam referebat, cum omnes ⁵veriùs de sævitiâ maris queri possent. ⁶Rex novi operis molem orsus, in adversum ventum, non latere, sed rectâ fronte, direxit: ⁷ea cætera opera velut sub ipsâ latentia tuebatur. Latitudinem quoque aggeri adjecit, ut turres in medio erectæ, procul teli jactu abessent. Totas autem arbores cum ingentibus ramis in altum jaciebant: deindè saxis onerabant. Rursus cumulo eorum alias arbores injiciebant. Tum humus aggerebatur, ⁸superque aliâ strue saxorum arborumque cumulatâ, velut quodam nexu continens opus junxerant. Nec Tyrii, quidquid ad impediendam molem excogitari poterat, segniter exsequebantur. ⁹Præcipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmi

tes arborum ¹⁰ eminentium ad se trahentes: quæ ubi secutæ erant, pleraque secum in profundum dabant: tum levatos onere stipites truncosque arborum haud ægrè moliebantur. Deindè totum opus, quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso, sequebatur. ¹¹ Ægro animi Alexandro, et utrùm perseveraret au abiret, satis incerto, classis Cypro advenit. Eodemque tempore Cleander cum Græcis militibus in Asiam nuper advectus. Centum et octoginta navium classem in duo dividit cornua. Lævum Pythagoras, Rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur; Alexandrum in dextro ¹² quinquere mis regia vehbat. Nec Tyrii, quanquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen, tres omnino naves ante ipsa mœnia opposuerunt, quibus Rex invectus, ipsas demersit.

13. Posterâ die, classe ad mœnia admotâ, undiquè tormentis, et maximè ¹³ arietum pulsu, muros quatit; quos Tyrii raptim obstructis saxis refecerunt, ¹⁴ interiorem quoque murum, ut si prior fefellisset, illo se tuerentur, undique orsi. Sed undiquè vis mali urgebat: moles intra teli jactum erat: classis mœnia circumibat: ¹⁵ terrestri simul navalique clade obruebantur. ¹⁶ Quippe binas quadriremes Macedones inter se ita junxerant, ut proræ cohærerent; puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent. Hoc puppium intervallum antennis asseribusque validis deligatis, superque eos pontibus stratis, qui militem sustinerent, impleverant: sic instructas quadriremes ad urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tutò, quia ¹⁷ proris miles tegebatur. Media nox erat, cum classem, sicuti dictum est, paratam, circumire urbem jubet: jamque naves urbi undique ¹⁸ admovebantur, et Tyrii desperatione torpebant, cùm subito spissæ nubes intendere se cœlo, et quidquid lucis ¹⁹ internitebat, effusâ caligine, extinctum est. Tum inhorrescens mare paulatim levare, deindè acriori vento concitatum fluctus eiere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere ²⁰ tabulata, et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere. Neque enim conserta navigia ullâ ope in ²¹ turbido regi poterant. Miles ministeria nau-

tarum, remex militis officia turbabat, et, quod in hujusmodi casu accidit, periti ignaris parebant; quippe gubernatores, aliàs imperare soliti, tum metu mortis jussa exsequebantur. Tandem remis pertinaciùs everberatum mare, veluti eripientibus navigia ²² classicis ²³ cessit, appulsaque sunt littori, ²⁴ lacerata pleraque.

14. Iisdem forte diebus Carthaginensium legati triginta superveniunt, majus obsessis solatium quàm auxilium: quippè domestico bello Pœnos ²⁵ impediri, nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare nunciabant. ²⁶ Syracusani tum Africam urbant; et haud procul Carthagini muris locaverant castra. Non tamen defecère animis Tyrii, quanquam ab ingenti spe destituti erant, sed conjuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradiderunt, ²⁷ fortiùs quidquid accideret laturo, si carissimam suì partem extra communis periculi sortem habuissent. Cùmque unus e civibus concione indicàsset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem ²⁸ eximiâ religione colerent, urbem deserentis; molemq̃ue a Macedonibus jactam in salo, in sylvestrem saltum esse mutatam: quanquam auctor ²⁹ levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda prò metu, ³⁰ aureâ catenâ devinxere simulacrum, aræque Herculis, ejus numini urbem dicaverant, inseruere vinculum, quasi illo Deo Apollinem ³¹ retenturo. Syracusis id simulacrum devexerant Pœni, et in ³² majore locaverant patriâ, multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum, non Carthaginem magis, quàm Tyrum ornaverant.

15. ³³ Sacrum quoque, (quod quidem Diis minimè cordi esse crediderim) multis sæculis intermissum, repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur. Quod sacrilegium veriùs quàm sacrum, Carthaginenses, a conditoribus traditum, usque ad excidium urbis suæ fecisse dicuntur: ac nisi ³⁴ Seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio euneta agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. Cæterùm efficacior omni arte imminens necessitas, non usitata modò præsidia, sed quædam etiam nova ³⁵ admovit. Namque ad implicanda navigia quæ muros subibant, validis asseribus

³⁶corvos et ferreas manus illigaverant, ut, cùm tormento asseres promovissent, subitò laxatis funibus, injicerent. Unci quoque et falces ex iisdem asseribus dependentes, aut propugnatores, aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clypeos verò æneos multo igne torrebant, quos, repletos fervidâ arenâ cœnoque decocto, e muris subitò devolvebant; nec ulla pestis magis timebatur. Quippè ubi loricam ³⁷corpusque fervens arena penetraverat, nec ullâ vi executi poterat, et quidquid attigerat, perurebat; jacentesque arma, laceratis omnibus quæis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant. Corvi verò, et ferreæ manus tormentis emissæ, plerosque rapiabant.

IV. 16. ¹Hic Rex fatigatus statuerat, ²solutâ obsidione, Ægyptum petere: quippè eum Asiam ingenti velocitate percurrisset, circa muros unius urbis hærebat, tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimissâ. Cæterùm tam discedere ³irritum, quàm morari pudebat; famam quoque, quâ plura quàm armis everterat, ratus leviolem fore, si Tyrum, quasi testem se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves admoveri jubet, delectosque militum imponi. Et fortè ⁴bellua inusitatæ magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus applicuit; diverberatisque fluctibus allevans semet, utrinquè conspecta est. Deindè a capite molis, rursus alto se immersit: ac modò super undas eminens magnâ sui parte, modò superfusus fluctibus condita, haud procul munitis urbis ⁵emersit. Utrisque lætus fuit belluæ aspectus. Macedones iter jaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur; Tyrii, Neptunum occupati maris vindicem abripuisse belluam, ac molem brevi profectò ruituram: lætique omine eo, ad epulas ⁶dilapsi, oneravère se vino: quo graves, orto sole navigia conscendunt, redimita coronis floribusque: adeò victoriæ non omen modò, sed etiam gratulationem præceperant.

17. Fortè Rex classem in diversam partem agi jusserat, triginta minoribus navigiis relictis in littore; e quibus Tyrii duobus captis, cætera ingenti terruerant metu; donec, suorum clamore audito, Alexander classem littori, e quo fremitus

acciderat, admovit. ⁷Prima e Macedonum navibus, quinquere mis velocitate inter cæteras eminens, occurrit: quam ut conspexere Tyrii, duæ ⁸e diverso in latera ejus invec tæ sunt, in quarum alteram quinquere mis eadem concitata, et ipsa rostro icta est, et illam invicem tenuit. Jamque ea, quæ non cohærebat, libero impetu erecta, in aliud quinquere mis latus invehabatur, cùm opportunitate mirâ triremis e classe Alexandri, in eam ipsam, quæ quinquere mi imminabat, tantâ vi impuls a est, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare ⁹executeretur e puppi. Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et Rex quoque aderat; cùm Tyrii ¹⁰inhibentes remos, ægrè ¹¹evellere navem quæ hærebat, portumque omnia simul navigia repetunt. Confestim Rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non potuit, cùm procul e muris missilibus ¹²submoveretur: naves autem omnes ferè aut mersit, aut cepit.

18. Biduo deindè ad quietem dato militibus, jussisque et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undiquè territis instaret, ipse in altissimam turrim ascendit; ¹³ingenti animo, periculo majore: quippè ¹⁴regio insigni, et armis fulgentibus conspicuus, unus præcipuè telis petebatur, et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit: multos e muris propugnantes hastâ transfixit, quosdam etiam cominùs gladio clypeoque impulsos præcipitavit: quippè turris, ex quâ dimicabat, muris hostium propemodùm cohærebat. Jamque, ¹⁵crebris arictibus saxorum compage laxatâ, munimenta defecerant, et classis intraverat portum, et quidam Macedonum in turres hostium desertas evaserant: cùm Tyrii, tot simul malis vieti, alii supplices in templa confugiunt, alii foribus ædium obseratis, ¹⁶occupant liberum mortis arbitrium; nonnulli ruunt in hostem, haud inultè tamen perituri. Magna pars summa tectorum obtinebat, saxa, et quidquid manibus fors dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus. Alexander, exceptis qui in templa confugerant, omnes interfici, ignemque tectis injici jubet. His per præcones pronuntiatis, ¹⁷nemo tamen armatus opem a Diis petere sustinuit. Pueri virginesque templa compleverant: viri in vestibulo suarum quisque ædium stabant, parata ¹⁸sævientibus

turba. Multis tamen salutis fuere Sidonii, qui ¹⁰ intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant; sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores, (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse credebant) multos Tyrionum etiam protegentes ad sua perduxere navigia, quibus occulati, Sidona devecti sunt. Quindecim millia hoc furto subducta saevitiae sunt. Quantumque sanguinis fusum sit, vel ex hoc aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis, sex millia armatorum trucidata sunt. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira praebebat Regis. Duo millia, ²⁰ in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus affixi, per ²¹ ingens littoris spatium pependerunt. Carthaginensium legatis pepereit, addita denunciatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur.

19. Tyrus septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta est: urbs et vetustate originis, et crebrae fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore, diu mare, non vicinum modò, sed quodeumque classes ejus adierunt, ²² ditionis suae fecit; et si famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit, aut didicit. Coloniae certè ejus penè orbe toto diffusae sunt; Carthago in Africâ, in Bœotiâ Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. Credo ²³ libero commeantes mari, saepiusque adeundo caeteris incognitas terras, elegisse sedes juventuti, quae tunc abundabant: seu quia crebris motibus terrae (nam hoc quoque traditur) cultores ejus fatigati, nova et externa domicilia armis sibi quærere cogebantur. Multis ergò casibus defuncta et post excidium renata, nunc tamen longâ pace cuncta refovente, sub tutelâ Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.

V. 20. Iisdem fermè diebus Darii litterae allatae sunt, ¹ tandem ut Regi scriptae. Petebat, "uti filiam suam ² (Statyræ erat nomen) nuptiis Alexander sibi adjungeret. Dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam. ³ Inde Orientem spectantibus terris contentum se fore. Si fortè dubitaret, quod offerretur, accipere, ⁴ nunquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam, semperque homines, quantam-

cumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire maiorem. Vereri, ne se avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret ad sidera, inani ac puerili mentis affectu efferret. Nihil difficilius esse, quàm in illâ ætate tantam capere fortunam. ⁵ Multas se adhuc reliquias habere, nec semper ⁶ in angustiis posse deprehendi. Transeundum esse Alexandro Euphratem, Tigrimque, et Araxen, et Hydaspem, magna munimenta regni sui. Veniendum in campos, ubi paucitate suorum erubescendum sit. Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra, et Indos, Oceani accolas, quandò aditurum, ne Sogdianos et Arachosios, nomen, cæterasque gentes, ad Caucasum et Tanaim pertinentes? Senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine prælio obeunti. ⁷ Se verò ad ipsum vocare desineret: namque illius exitio se esse venturum." Alexander, his, qui litteras attulerant, respondit: "Darium ⁸ sibi aliena promittere; quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi dari Lydiam, Ioniam, Æolidem, Hellesponti oram, ⁹ victoriæ suæ præmia: leges ¹⁰ autem a victoribus dici; accipi a victis. In utro statu ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quamprimum Marte decerneret: se quoque, cùm transisset mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam, (quippe tanti belli exigua hanc esse mercedem) sed Persepolim, caput regni ejus, Bactra deindè, Ecbatana, ultimique Orientis oram ¹¹ imperio suo destinasse. Quòcumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse. Desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse." Reges quidem invicem hæc scripserant.

21. Sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socrati tradiderat; Philotà regioni circa Tyrum jusso præsidere: Syriam, quæ Cœle appellatur, Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat, bello, quod supererat, interfuturus. Rex, Hephæstione Phœnices oram classe prætervehî jusso, ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit. Iisdem ferè diebus ¹² solemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod conventu totius Græciæ celebratur. In eo concilio, ut sunt Græcorum ¹³ temporaria ingenia, decernunt, ut duodecim legarentur ad Regem, qui ob res pro salute Græciæ ac libertate gestas.

coronam auream donum victoriae ferrent. ¹⁴ Iidem paulò autè incertae famae captaverant auram, ut quòcumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna, sequerentur. ¹⁵ Caeterùm non ipse modò Rex obibat urbes, imperii jugum adhuc recusantes: sed Prætores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque invaserant. Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaoniam, Balacerus, Idarne Prætorè Darii superato, Miletum cepit: Amphoterus et Hegelochus, centum sexaginta navium classe, insulas inter Achaïam atque Asiam in ditionem Alexandri redegerunt; Tenedo quoque receptâ, Chion, incolis ultrò vocantibus, statuerant occupare. Sed Pharnabazus Darii Prætor, ¹⁶ comprehensis qui res ad Macedonas trahebant, rursùs Apollonidi et Athenagoræ suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico præsidio militum tradit. Præfecti Alexandri in obsidione urbis perseverabant, ¹⁷ non tam suis viribus, quàm ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, voluntate. Nec fecellit opinio. Namque inter Apollonidem et duces militum orta seditio, irrumpendi in urbem occasionem dedit. Cùmque portâ effractâ cohors Macedonum intrâset, oppidani, olim consilio proditoris agitato, aggregant se Amphotero et Hegelochò; Persarumque præsidio cæso, ¹⁸ Pharnabazus cum Apollonide et Athenagorâ vineti traduntur: xii triremes cum suo milite ac remige, præter eas tringinta inanes et piratici lembi, Græcorumque tria millia a Persis mercede conducti. His ¹⁹ in supplementum copiarum suarum distributis, piratisque supplicio affectis, captivos remiges adjecere classi suæ.

22. Fortè Aristonicus Methymnæorum Tyrannus, cum piraticis navibus, ignarus omnium quæ ad Chium acta erant, primâ vigiliâ ad portûs claustra successit: interrogatusque a custodibus, "quis esset; Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire," respondit. Illi "Pharnabazum quidem jam quiescere, et non posse tum adiri, caeterùm patere socio atque hospiti portum, et postero die ²⁰ Pharnabazi copiam fore" affirmant. Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare. Secuti sunt ducem piratici lembi; ac dùm applicant navigia crepidini portûs, objicitur a vigilibus claustrum, et qui proximi excubabant, ab iisdem ex-

citantur: nulloque ex his auso repugnare, omnibus catenæ injectæ sunt: Amphotero deindè, Hegelochoque traduntur. Hinc Macedones transière Mitylenem, quàm Chares Atheniensis nuper occupatam duorum millium Persarum præsidio tenebat: sed cùm obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe traditâ, pactus, ut incolumi abire liceret, Imbrum petit; deditis Macedones peperecerunt.

VI. 23. Darius, desperatâ pace, quam per litteras legatosque impetrari posse crediderat, ad reparandas vires, bellumque impigrè renovandum intendit animum. Duces ergò copiarum Babyloniam convenire, Bessum quoque Bactrianorum prætorem, quàm maximo posset exercitu coacto, descendere ad se jubet. Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis ingeniis, multùmque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus: siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissimâ gente, et raptò vivere assueti, semper in armis erant. Sed Bessus, suspectâ perfidiâ, haud sanè æquo animo in secundo se continens gradu, Regem terrebat. Nam cùm regnum affectaret, proditio, quâ solâ id assequi poterat, timebatur. ¹ Cæterùm Alexander, quam regionem Darius petiisset, omni curâ vestigans, tamen explorare non poterat, more quodam Persarum, arcana Regum mirâ eelantium fide. Non metus, non spes elicit vocem, quâ prodantur occulta: vetus disciplina Regum silentium vitæ periculo sanxerat. Lingua gravius castigatur, quàm ullum probum; ² nec magnam rem sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui tacere grave sit; quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura. ³ Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quæ apud hostem gererentur, ignarus, urbem Gazam obsidebat. Præerat ei Betis eximiæ in Regem suum fidei, modicoque præsidio muros ⁴ ingentis operis tuebatur.

24. Alexander, æstimato locorum situ, agi ⁵ cuniculos jussit, facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippè multam arenam vicinum mare evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quæ interpellent ⁶ specus, obstabant. Igitur ab eâ parte, quam oppidani, conspiciere non possent, opus orsus, ⁷ ut a sensu ejus averteret turres muris admoventi jubet. Sed eadem humus

admovendis inutilis turribus, ⁹ desidente sabulo, agilitatem rotarum morabatur, et tabulata turrium perfringebat: multique vulnerabantur impunè, ⁹ cùm idem recipiendis, qui admovendis turribus, labor eos fatigaret. Ergò receptui signo dato, postero die muros ¹⁰ coronâ circumdari jussit. Ortoque sole, priusquàm admoveret exercitum, ¹¹ opem Deûm exposcens, sacrum patrio more faciebat. Fortè prætervolans corvus, ¹² glebam, quam unguibus ferebat, subito amisit: quæ cùm Regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit. Ipsa autem avis in proximâ turre consedit. Illita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in quâ alis hærentibus frustrâ se allevare ¹³ conatus, a circumstantibus capitur. Digna res visa, de quâ vates consuleret, ut erat non intactæ a superstitione mentis. Ergò Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur, “urbis quidem excidium augurio illo portendi; cæterùm periculum esse, ne Rex vulnus acciperet:” itaque monuit “nequid eo die inciperet.” Ille, quanquàm unam urbem sibi, quominus securus Ægyptum intraret, obstare ægrè ferebat, tamen paruit vati, signumque receptui dedit.

25. Hinc animus crevit obsessis, egressique portâ, recedentibus inferunt signa: cunctationem hostium fore suam occasionem rati. Sed acriùs quàm constantiùs prælium incidunt. ¹⁴ Quippè ut Macedonum signa circumagi vidère, repentè sistunt gradum. Jamque ad Regem præliantium clamor pervenerat, cùm denunciati periculi laud sanè memor, lorica tamen, quàm rarò induebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit, et ¹⁵ ad prima signa pervenit. Quo conspecto, Arabs quidam, Darii miles, ¹⁶ majus fortunâ suâ facinus ausus, clypeo gladium tegens, quasi transfuga genibus Regis advolvitur. Ille assurgere supplicem, recipique inter suos jussit. At gladio barbarus strenuè in dextram translato, cervicem appetit Regis; ¹⁷ qui, exiguâ corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denunciato in illum diem periculo (ut arbitrabatur ipse) defunctus. Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum: quippè dùm inter primores promptiùs dimicat, sagittâ ictus est, quam per lorica adactam, ¹⁸ stantem

in humero, medicus ejus Philippus evellit. Plurimus deindè sanguis manare cœpit; omnibus territis, quia nunquam tam altè penetrâsse telum loricâ obstante, cognoverant. Ipse, ne oris quidem colore mutato, suppressi sanguinem, et vulnus obligari jussit. Diù ante ipsa signa, vel dissimulato, vel victo dolore ¹⁹perstiterat, cùm suppressus paulò antè sanguis medicamento, quo retentus erat, manare latius cœpit; et vulnus, quod recens adhuc dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. ²⁰Linqui deindè animo, et ²¹submitti genu cœpit; quem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis, interfectum ratus, urbem ovans victoriâ repetit.

26. At Alexander, nondùm percurato vulnere, aggerem, quo mœnium altitudinem æquaret, extruxit, et pluribus cuniculis muros subruï jussit. Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium mœnium, novum extruxère munimentum; sed ne id quidem turres aggeri impositas æquare poterat. Itaque interiora quoque urbis infesta telis erant. Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus murus, per cujus ruinas hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse Rex ²²antesignanos, et dùm incautiùs subit, saxo crus ejus affligitur. Innixus tamen telo, ²³nondùm prioris vulneris obductâ cicatrice, inter primores dimicat: irâ quoque accensus, quòd duo in obsidione urbis ejus acceperat vulnera Betim, egregiâ editâ pugnâ, multisque vulneribus confectum, deseruerant sui: nec tamen segniùs prælium capessebat, lubricis armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine: sed cùm undique [²⁴unus omnium telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus vivus in potestatem hostium venit: quo ad Regem] adducto, insolenti gaudio ²⁵juvenis elatus, ²⁶aliàs virtutis, etiam in hoste mirator: "Non, ut voluisti," inquit, "mories, Beti: sed quidquid tormentorum in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita." Ille, non interrito modò, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens Regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddidit vocem. Tum Alexander: "Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?" inquit; "num genu posuit? num supplicem vocem misit? Vincam tamen silentium; et si nihil aliud, certè gemitu interpellabo." Iram deindè vertit in rabiem; ²⁷jam

tum peregrinos ritus novâ subeunte fortunâ. Per talos enim spirantis lora trajecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi; gloriante Rege Achillem, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse pœnâ in hostem capiendâ. Cecidère Persarum Arabumque circa x millia; nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certè non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est, quàm geminato periculo Regis, qui Ægyptum adire festinans, Amyntam cum decem triremibus in Macedoniam ²⁸ ad inquisitionem novorum militum misit. Namque præliis etiam secundis ²⁹ atterebantur copiæ; devictarumque gentium militi, ³⁰ minor quàm domestico fides habebatur.

VII. 27. Ægyptii ¹ olim Persarum opibus infensi, quippe avarè et superbè imperitatum sibi esse credebant, ad spem adventûs ejus crexerant animos, utpotè qui Amyntam quoque transfugam, et ² cum precario imperio venientem læti recepissent. Igitur ingens multitudo Pelusium, quâ intraturus Rex videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam a ³ Gazâ copias moverat, in regionem Ægypti, quam nunc ⁴ castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. Deindè pedestribus copiis Pelusium petere jussis, ipse cum expeditâ delectorum manu, Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinere adventum ejus Persæ, defectione quoque perterriti. Jamque haud procul Memphi erat; in cujus præsidio Mazaces Prætor Darii relictus, ⁵ [ostio amnis superato], octingenta talenta Alexandro, omnemque regiam suppellectilem tradidit. A Memphi, eodem flumine vectus, ⁶ ad interiora Ægypti penetrat; compositisque rebus, ita ut nihil ex patrio Ægyptiorum more mutaret, adire Jovis Hammonis oraculum statuit.

28. Iter, expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile, in grediendum erat: terrâ cœloque aquarum penuria est: steriles arenæ jacent; quas ubi vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia, intolerabilis æstus existit: luctandumque est non tantùm cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, ⁷ quod præaltum et vestigio cedens ægrè moliantur pedes. Hæc Ægyptii vero majora jactabant. Sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Jovem.

quem generis sui auctorem, ⁸ haud contentus mortali fastigio, aut credebatur esse, aut credi volebat. Ergò cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Marcotim paludem. Eò legati Cyrenensium dona attulère; pacem, et ut adiret urbes suas, petentes. Ille, donis acceptis, amicitiaque conjunctâ, destinata exsequi pergit. Ac primo quidem et sequenti die, tolerabilis labor visus, nondùm tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis, ⁹ jam tamen sterili et emoriente terrâ. Sed ut aperuere se campi alto obruti sabulo, ¹⁰ haud secus quàm profundum æquor ingressi terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam ¹¹ utribus cameli devexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo nulla erat. Ad hæc sol omnia incenderat, siccaque et adusta erant cra, cùm repentè, sive illud deorum munus, sive casus fuit, obductæ cœlo nubes condidère solem; ingens æstu fatigatis, etiamsi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimverò ut largum quoque imbrem excuserunt procellæ, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam, ¹² ob sitim impotentes sui, ore quoque hianti captare cœperunt. Quatriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est.

29. Jamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cùm complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima signa antecedentes: et modò humi residebant, cùm lentiùs agmen incederet, modò se pennis levabant, ¹³ antecedentium iterque monstrantium ritu. Tandem ad sedem consecratam Deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita, undique ambientibus ramis, ¹⁴ vix in densam umbram cadente sole, contacta est: multique fontes, duleibus aquis passim manantibus, alunt sylvas. ¹⁵ Cœli quoque mira temperies verno tempori maximè similis, omnes anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. ¹⁶ Accolæ sedis sunt ab Oriente proximi Æthiopum: in Meridiem versùs Arabes spectant, *Troglodytis* cognomen est. Quorum regio usque ad rubrum mare excurrit. At quâ vergit ad Occidentem, alii Æthiopes colunt, quos *Scenitas* vocant: a Septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, ¹⁷ navigiorum spoliis quaestiosa. Quippè obsi

dent littora, ¹⁸ et æstu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant. Incolæ nemoris, (Hammonios vocant,) dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, triplici muro circumdatum. Prima munitio ¹⁹ tyrannorum veterem regiam clausit: in proximâ conjuges eorum, cum liberis et pellicibus, habitant. Hic quoque Dei ²⁰ oraculum est. Ultima munimenta, satellitum armigerorumque sedes erant. Est etiam aliud Hammonis nemus; in medio habet fontem: *aquam solis* vocant. Sub lucis ortum tepida manat: medio die, cum vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit: ²¹ inclinato in vesperam, calescit: mediâ nocte, fervida exæstuat; quoque propitius nox vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, ²² donec sub ipsum dici ortum assueto tepore languescat. Id, quod pro Deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgò diis artifices accommodaverunt. ²³ Umbilico maximè similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. Hunc, cum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes: multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus. Sequuntur matronæ, virginesque, patrio more ²¹ inconditum quoddam carmen canentes: quo propitiari Jovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum.

30. At tum quidem Regem, propitius adeuntem, maximus natu e sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Jovem reddere affirmans. Ille verò et accipere se, ait, et agnoscere, humanæ sortis oblitus. Consuluit deindè, an totius orbis imperium fatis sibi destinaret pater. Vates, æquè in adulationem compositus, terrarum omnium rectorem fore ostendit. Post hæc ²⁵ institit quærere, an omnes ²⁶ parentis sui interfectores, pœnas dedissent. Sacerdos, parentem ejus ²⁷ negat ullius scelere posse violari: Philippi autem omnes interfectores huisse supplicia; adjecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad Deos. Sacrificio deindè facto, dona et sacerdotibus et Deo data sunt: permissumque amicis, ut ipsi quoque consulerent Jovem. Nihil ampliùs quæsiverunt, quàm ²⁸ an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum Regem. Hoc quoque acceptum fore Jovi vates respondit. ²⁹ Verò et salubriter æsti-

manti fidem oraculi, vana profectò responsa videri potuissent sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coegit, magnâ ex parte avidos gloriæ magis, ³⁰ quàm capaces facit. Jovis igitur filium se non solùm appellari passus est, sed etiam jussit: rerumque gestarum ³¹ famam, dùm augere vult, tali appellatione corrumpit. ³² Et Macedones, assueti quidem regio imperio, sed in majore libertatis umbrâ quàm cæteræ gentes, immortalitatem affectantem, contumaciùs quàm aut ipsis expediebat aut Regi, adversati sunt. Sed hæc suo quæque tempori reserventur. Nunc cætera exsequi pergam.

VIII. 31. Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut ad Marcotim paludem haud procul insulâ Pharo sitam venit, contemplatus loci naturam, primùm in ipsâ insulâ statuerat urbem novam condere. Indè, ut apparuit ¹ magnæ sedis insulam haud capacem, elegit urbi locum ubi nunc est Alexandria, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris: complexus quidquid loci est inter paludem et mare, ² octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat; et qui ædificandæ urbi præessent relictis, Memphim petit. Cupido, haud injusta quidem, cæterùm ³ intempestiva incesserat, non interiora modò Ægypti, sed etiam ⁴ Æthiopiam invisere. Memnonis Tithonique celebrata regia cognoscendæ vetustatis avidum trahebat penè extra terminos Solis. Sed ⁵ imminens bellum, cujus multò major supererat moles, otiosæ peregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Ægypto præfecit Æschylum Rhodium, et Peucestem Macedonem, quatuor millibus militum in præsidium regionis ejus datis: ⁶ claustra Nili fluminis Polemonem tueri jubet; triginta ad hoc triremes datæ. Africæ deindè, quæ Ægypto juneta est, præpositus Appollonius; vectigalibus ejusdem Africæ Ægyptique, Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandriam jussis, ⁷ novam urbem magnâ multitudine implevit. Fama est, cùm Rex urbis futuræ muros polentâ, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasset, avium greges advolâsse, et polentâ esse pastas. Cùmque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum

frequentiam ⁸ culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta præbaturam.

32. Regem, cùm secundo amne deflueret, assequi cupiens Hector, Parmenionis filius, eximio ætatis flore, ⁹ in paucis Alexandro carus, parvum navigium conscendit; pluribus quàm capere posset impositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. ¹⁰ Hector diù flumini obluctatus, cùm madens vestis, et astricti crepidis pedes natare prohiberent, in ripam tamen semianimis evasit; et ut primum fatigatus spiritum laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderant, nullo adjuvante (quippe in diversum evaserant alii) exanimatus est. Rex ¹¹ amissi ejus desiderio vehementer afflictus est, repertumque corpus magnifico ¹² extulit funere. Oneravit hunc dolorem nuncius mortis Andromachi, quem præfecerat Syriæ: vivum Samaritæ cremaverant. Ad cujus interitum vindicandum, quantà maximâ celeritate potuit, contendit: advenientique sunt traditi tanti sceleris auctores. Andromacho deindè Memnona substituit; affectis supplicio, qui prætorem interemerant. Tyrannos (inter eos, Methymnæorum Aristonicum, et Chrysolaum) popularibus suis tradidit, quos illi [¹³ innumeras] ob injurias tortos necaverunt. Atheniensium deindè, Rhodiorumque, et Chiorum legatos audit. Athenienses victoriam ¹⁴ gratulabantur, et, ut captivi Græcorum suis restituerentur, orabant. Rhodii et Chii de præsidio querebantur. Omnes æqua desiderare visi, impetraverunt. Mitylenæis quoque, ob egregiam in partes suas fidem, et pecuniam quam in bellum impenderant, obsides reddidit, et magnam regionem finibus eorum adjecit. Cypriorum quoque regibus, qui et a Dario defecerant ad ipsum, et oppugnanti Tyrum miserant classem, pro merito honos habitus est. Amphoterus deindè classis præfectus ad liberandam Cretam missus, (namque et Persarum et Spartanorum armis ¹⁵ pleraque ejus insulæ obsidebantur,) ¹⁶ ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus vindicare jussus: quippe ¹⁷ obnoxium prædonibus erat, in bellum utroque Rege converso. His compositis, Herculi Tyrio ex auro crateram, cum triginta pateris, dicavit: imminensque Dario, iter ad Euphratem pronuciari jussit.

IX. 33. At Darius cùm ab Ægypto divertisse in Africam hostem comperisset, dubitaverat, utrumne circa Mesopotamiam ¹subsisteret, an interiora regni sui peteret; ²haud dubiè potentior auctor præsens futurus ultimis gentibus impigrè bellum capessendi, quas aegrè per Præfectos suos moliebatur. ³Sed, ut idoneis auctoribus fama vulgavit, Alexandrum cum omnibus copiis, quaecumque ipse adiisset regionem, petiturum, ⁴haud ignarus, quàm cum strenuo res esset, omnia longinquarum gentium auxilia Babylonem contrahi jussit. Bactriani, Scythæque, et Indi convenerant. Jam et cæterarum gentium copiae ⁵partibus simul affuerunt. Cæterùm cùm dimidio fermè major esset exercitus, quàm in Ciliciâ fuerat, multis arma decrant; quæ summâ curâ comparabantur. Equitibus equisque tegumenta erant ex ferreis laminis, serie inter se connexis. ⁶Queis antea præter jacula nihil dederat, scuta gladiique adjiciebantur: equorumque ⁷domandi greges peditibus distributi sunt: ut major pristino esset equitatus; ingensque, ut crediderat, terror hostium, ducentæ falcatae ⁸quadrigæ, ⁹unicum illarum gentium auxilium, secutæ sunt. Ex summo temone hastæ præfixæ ferro eminebant. Utrimque a jugo ternos direxerant gladios; et inter radios rotarum plura spicula eminebant in adversum. Aliæ deindè falces ¹⁰summis rotarum orbibus hærebant, et ¹¹aliæ in terram demissæ, quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuisset, amputaturæ.

34. Hoc modo instructo exercitu, ac perarmato, Babylone copias movit. A parte dextrâ erat Tigris ¹²nobilis fluvius: lævam tegebat Euphrates: agmen Mesopotamiæ campos impleverat. Tigri deindè superato, cùm audisset haud procul abesse hostem, Satropatem equitum præfectum cum mille delectis præmisit, Mazæo Prætori sex millia data, quibus hostem transitu annis arceret. ¹³Eidem mandatum, ut regionem, quam Alexander esset aditurus, popularetur, atque ureret: quippè credebatur, inopiâ debellari posse nihil habentem, nisi quod rapiendo occupasset. Ipsi autem commcatus, alii terrâ, alii Tigri anne subvehebantur. Jam pervenerat Arbela vicum, ¹⁴nobilem suâ clade facturum. Ille commeatum sarcin-

narumque majore parte depositâ, Lycum amnem ponte junxit. et per dies quinque, ¹⁵ sicut antè Euphratem, trajecit exercitum. Indè octoginta ferè stadia progressus, ad alterum amnem, (*Boumelo* nomen est,) castra posuit. ¹⁶ Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum, etiam ad ea quæ procul recessère, permittitur. Itaque, ¹⁷ si quâ campi eminebant, jussit æquari totumque fastigium extendi.

36. ¹⁸ Alexandro, qui numerum copiarum ejus, quantum procul conjectari poterant, æstimabant, vix fecerunt fidem, tot millibus cæsis majores copias esse reparatas. Cæterùm, omnis periculi, et maximè multitudinis contemptor, ¹⁹ undecimis castris pervenit ad Euphratem: quo pontibus juncto, equites primos ire, phalangem sequi jubet; Mazæo, ²⁰ qui ad inhibendum transitum ejus cum sex millibus equitum occurrerat, non auso ²¹ periculum sui facere. Paucis deindè, non ad quietem, sed ad reparandos animos, diebus datis militi, strenuè hostem insequi cœpit, metuens ne interiora regni sui peteret, sequendusque esset per loca omni solitudine atque inopiâ vasta. Igitur quarto die ²² præter Arbela penetrat ad Tigrim. Tota regio ultra amnem recenti fumabat incendio; quippè Mazæus, quæcumque adierat, haud secùs quàm hostis urebat. Ac primò caligine, quam fumus effuderat, obscurante lucem, insidiarum metu substitit. Deindè ut speculatores præmissi tuta omnia nunciaverunt, paucos equitum ad tentandum vadum fluminis præmisit: cujus altitudo primò summa equorum pectora, mox ut in medium alveum ventum est, cervices quoque æquabat: nec sanè ²³ alius ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur; multorum torrentium non aquas solùm, sed etiam saxa secum trahens. Itaque a celeritate, quâ defluit, *Tigri* nomen est inditum, quia Persicâ linguâ *Tigrim* sagittam appellant.

37. ²⁴ Igitur pedes, velut divisus in cornua, circumdato equitatu, levatis super capita armis, haud ægrè ad ipsum alveum penetrat. Primus inter pedites Rex egressus in ripam,

vadum militibus manu, quandò vox exaudiri non poterat, ostendit: sed gradum firmare vix poterant, cùm ²⁵ modò saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, modò rapidior unda subduceret. Præcipuus erat labor eorum, qui humeris onera portabant; quippè cùm semetipsos regere non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere aufercebantur. Et dùm sua quisque spolia consequi ²⁶ studet, major inter ipsos, quàm cum amne orta luctatio est; cumulique sarcinarum passim fluitantes plerosque perculerant. Rex ²⁷ monere, ut satis haberent arma retinere; cætera se redditurum. Sed neque consilium, neque imperium accipi poterat. Obstrepebat hinc metus; præter hunc, ²⁸ invicem nutantium mutuus clamor. Tandem, quâ leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, emersere: nec quidquam præter paucas sarcinas desideratum est.

38. Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis ausus esset vincere. Sed perpetua fortuna Regis avertit indè hostem. Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripâ, ²⁹ superavit; sic angustis in Ciliciæ callibus, tantam multitudinem hostium. ³⁰ Audaciæ quoque, quâ maximè viguit, ratio minui potest: quia nunquàm in discrimen venit, an temerè fecisset. Mazæus, qui si transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubiè oppressurus fuit incompressos, in ripâ demùm, et jam perarmatos adequitare cœpit. Mille admodum equites præmiserat, quorum paucitate Alexander exploratâ, deindè contemptâ, præfectum Pæonum equitum Aristona laxatis habenis invehi jussit. Insignis eo die pugna equitum, et præcipuè Aristonis, fuit. Præfectum equitatus Persarum Satrapatem, directâ in gutture hastâ, transfixit; fugientemque per medios hostes consecutus, ex equo præcipitavit, et obluctanti caput gladio dempsit: ³¹ quod relatum magnâ cum laude ante Regis pedes posuit.

X. 39. Biduo ibi Rex stativa habuit. In proximum deindè iter pronunciari jussit. Sed primâ ferè vigiliâ, Luna ¹ deficiens primùm nitorem sideris sui ² condidit: deindè sanguinis colore suffuso, lumen omne fedavit: ³ sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio, et ex eâ formide

quædam incussa est. Diis invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur. Jam nec flumina posse adiri, nec sidera pristinum præstare fulgorem. Vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: ⁴ in unius hominis jactationem tot millium sanguinem impendi: fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, cælum vanis cogitationibus peti. Jam prope seditionem res erat, cum ad omnia interritus, duces, principesque militum, frequentes adesse prætorio; Ægyptiosque vates quos cæli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere jubet. At illi, qui satis scirent, ⁵ temporum orbis implere destinatas vices, Lunamque deficere, cum aut terram subiret, aut Sole premeretur, rationem quidem ipsis perceptam non ⁶ edocent vulgus; cæterum affirmant, Solem Græcorum, Lunam esse Persarum; quoties illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi. Veteraque exempla percussent Persidis Regum, quos adversis Diis pugnasse Lunæ ostendisset defectio. Nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit, quam superstitio: alioqui ⁷ impotens, sæva, mutabilis, ubi vanâ religione capta est, melius vatibus, quam ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Ægyptiorum responsa rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes.

40. Rex impetu animorum utendum ratus, secundâ vigiliâ castra movit. ⁸ Dextrâ Tigrim habebat, a lævâ montes, quos *Gordæos* vocant. Hoc ingresso iter, speculatores, qui præmissi erant, sub lucis ortum, Darium adventare nunciaverunt. Instructo igitur milite, et composito agmine anteedebat. Sed Persarum exploratores erant mille ferme, qui speciem magni agminis fecerant; quippè ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. His cognitis, Rex cum paucis suorum assecutus agmen refugientium ad suos, alios cecidit, alios cepit; equitesque præmisit speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo Barbari cremaverant vicos, extinguerent; quippè fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti injecerant flammæ, quæ cum in summo hæsisent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant. Extincto igitur igne, plurimum frumenti repertum est; copiâ aliarum quoque rerum abundare cœperunt. Ea res ipsa militi

ad persequendum hostem animum incendit; quippè urente et populante eo terram, festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta præriperet. In rationem ergò necessitas versa: quippè Mazæus, qui antea⁹ per otium vicos incenderat, jam fugere contentus, pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. Alexander haud longiùs centum quadraginta stadiis Darium abesse compererat. Itaque ad satietatem quoque copiâ commeatuum instructus, quadriduo in eodem loco substitit.

41. Intereptæ deindè Darii litteræ sunt, quibus Græci milites sollicitabantur, ut Regem interficerent, aut proderent: dubitavitque an eas pro concione recitaret, satis confisus Græcorum quoque erga se benevolentia ac fidei. Sed Parmenio deterruit, non esse talibus promissis imbuendas aures militum affirmans; ¹⁰ patere vel unius insidiis Regem: nihil nefas esse avaritiæ. Secutus consilii auctorem, castra movit. Iter facienti, spado unus ex captivis, qui Darii uxorem comitabantur, deficere eam nunciat, et vix spiritum ducere. Itineris continui labore animique ægritudine fatigata, inter soerûs et virginum filiarum manus ¹¹ collapsa erat; deindè et extineta. ¹² Id ipsum nuncians, alius supervenit. Et Rex, haud secûs, quàm si parentis mors nunciata esset, crebros edidit gemitus; lacrymisque obortis, quales Darius profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darii, defuncto assidens corpori, venit. Hic verò renovatus est mœror, ut prostratam humi vidit: recenti malo priorum quoque admonita receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solatia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solatio. In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, ¹³ quòd nondùm sentiebat calamitatem, maximâ ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. Crederes Alexandrum inter suas necessitudines flere, et solatia non adhibere, sed quærere. Cibo certò abstinuit, omnemque honorem funerali, patrio Persarum more, servavit: ¹⁴ dignus herculè, qui nunc quoque tantæ mansuetudinis et continentia ferat fructum. Semel omninò eam ¹⁵ viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darii matrem videret: eximianquo

pulehritudinem formæ ejus, non libidinis habuerat incitamentum, sed gloriæ.

42. E spadonibus, qui circa Reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium clapsus, per eam portam, quæ, quia ab hoste aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darii castra pervenit: exceptusque a vigilibus, in tabernaculum Regis perducitur gemens et veste laceratâ. Quem ut conspexit Darius, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus, et, quid potissimum timeret, incertus: "Vultus tuus," inquit, "¹⁶ nescio quod ingens malum præfert: sed ¹⁷ cave miseri hominis auribus parcas; didici enim esse infelix; et sæpè calamitatis solatium est, nôsse sortem suam. Num, quod maximè suspicor, et loqui timeo, ¹⁸ ludibria meorum nunciaturus es mihi, et (ut credo) ipsis quoque omni graviora supplicio?" Ad hæc Tyriotes: "Istud quidem procul abest," inquit. "¹⁹ Quantuscumque enim Reginis honor ab iis, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est: sed uxor tua paulò antè excessit e vitâ." Tum verò non gemitus modò, sed etiam ejulatus totis castris exaudiebantur. Nee dubitavit Darius, quin interfecta esset, quia nequisset contumeliam pati: exclamatque amens dolore: "Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? Quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ²⁰ ut hanc vicem sævitæ meæ reddas? Odisti me, non quidem provocatus. Sed finge justum intulisse te bellum: cùm fœminis ergò agere debueras?" Tyriotes affirmare per Deos patrios, nihil in eam gravius esse consultum. Ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti, et non parcius flevisse, quàm ipse lacrymaret. Ob hæc ipsa, amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est: ²¹ desiderium captivæ profectò a consuetudine stupri ortum esse conjectans. Submotis igitur arbitris, uno duntaxat Tyriote retento, jam non flens, sed suspirans: "Videsne," inquit, "Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse? Tormenta jam hîc erunt: sed ne expectaveris ²² per Deos, si quid tui tibi Regis reverentiæ est; num, quod et scire expeto, et quærere pudet, ausus est et Dominus et juvenis?" Ille ²³ quæstioni corpus offerre, Deos testes invocare, ²⁴ castè sanctèque habitam esse Reginam. Tandem, ut

fides facta est, vera esse quæ affirmaret spado, capite velato diu flevit: manantibusque adhuc lacrymis, veste ab ore rejectâ, ad cælum manus tendens: "Dii patrii," inquit, "primum mihi stabilite regnum: deindè, ²³ si de me jam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiæ Rex sit, quàm iste tam justus hostis, tam misericors victor."

XI. 43. Itaque quanquam, pace frustrâ bis petitâ, omnia in bellum consilia converterat; victus tamen continentiam hostis, ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas, decem legatos cognatorum principes, misit: quos Alexander consilio advocato introduci jussit. E quibus maximus natu: "Darium," inquit, "ut pacem a te jam hoc tertiò peteret, nulla vis subegit; sed justitia et continentia tua ¹ expressit. Matrem, conjugem, liberosque ejus, nisi quòd sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensit. Pudicitiae earum, quæ supersunt, curam, haud secus quàm parens, agens, Reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunæ retinere pateris. Vultum tuum video, qualis Darii fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo; et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Jam in acie stares, nisi cura te sepulturæ ejus moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico animo pacem petit? Quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halyn amnem, qui Lydiam terminat. Nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphratem est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibi tradit. Ochum filium, quem habes, pacis et fidei obsidem retine. Matrem et duas virgines filias redde; ² pro tribus corporibus ³ triginta millia talentum auri, precatur, accipias. Nisi moderationem animi tui ⁴ notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam occupare deberes. Respice, quantum post te reliqueris, intueri quantum petas. Periculosum est ⁵ prægrave imperium; ⁶ difficile est continere, quod capere non possis. Videsne ut navigia, quæ modum excedunt, regi nequeant? ⁷ Nescio an Darius idè tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnæ jacturae locum faciunt. Facilius est quædam vincere, quàm tueri: quàm, herculè, expeditis manus nostræ rapiunt, quàm continent! Ipsa mors uxoris Darii te

admonere potest, ⁸ minus jam misericordiæ tuæ licere, quàm licuit."

44. Alexander, legatis excedere tabernaculo jussis, quid placeret, ad consilium refert. Diù nemo, quid sentiret, ausus est dicere, incertâ Regis voluntate. Tandem Parmenio: "Antè suasissem," ait, "ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderes: ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex iis, qui multi vineti virorum fortium occuparent manus. Et nunc magnoperè censerem, ut unam anum, et duas puellas, itinerum agminumque impedimenta, triginta millibus talentum auri permutes. Opimum regnum occupari posse conditione, non bello: nec quemquam alium inter Istrum et Euphratem possedis-
disse terras, ingenti spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque respiceres potiùs, quàm Bactra et Indos intuereris." Ingrata oratio Regi fuit. Itaque ut finem dicendi fecit, "Et ego," inquit, "pecuniam quàm gloriam mallem, si Parmenio essem. ⁹ Nunc Alexander de paupertate ¹⁰ securus sum, et me non mereatorem meminisse esse, sed Regem. Nihil quidem habeo venale: sed fortunam meam utiquè non vendo. Captivos si placet reddi, honestiùs dono dabimus, quàm pretio remitteremus."

45. Introductis deindè legatis, ad hunc modum respondit: "Nunciate Dario, me, quæ fecerim elementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae ejus tribuisse, sed naturæ meæ. Bellum cum captivis et foeminis gerere non soleo; armatus sit oportet, quem oderim. Quòd si saltem pacem bonâ fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan an darem. ¹¹ Verùm enim verò, eùm ¹² modò milites meos litteris ad prodicionem, modò amicos ad perniciem meam pecuniâ sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus. Conditiones verò pacis, quas adfertis, si accepero, victorem cum faciunt. Quæ ¹³ post Euphratem sunt, ¹⁴ liberaliter donat. ¹⁵ Ubi igitur me affamini? nempè ultra Euphratem sum. Summum ergò dotis, quam promittit, terminum castra mea transeunt. Hinc me depellite, ut sciam vestrum esse quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam, ¹⁶ nempè quam scio alicui servorum

suorum nupturam. ¹⁷ Multum verò mihi præstat, si me Mazæo generum præponit! Ite, nunciate Regi vestro, et quæ amisit, et quæ adhuc habet, præmia esse belli; ¹⁸ hoc regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod proximæ lucis assignatura fortuna est." Legati respondent: cum bellum in animo sit, facere eum ¹⁹ simpliciter quòd spe pacis non frustraretur: ipsos petere, quàm primùm dimittantur ad Regem: eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nunciant, adesse certamen.

XII. 46. Ille quidem confestim Mazæum cum tribus millibus equitum, ad itinera, quæ hostis petiturus erat, occupanda, præmisit. Alexander, corpori uxoris ejus justis persolutis, omnique ¹ graviore comitatu intra eadem munimenta cum modico præsidio relicto, ad hostem contendit. In duo cornua diviserat peditem, utrimque latera equite circumdato: impedimenta sequebantur agmen. Præmissum deindè ² conceitis equis Menidam jubet explorare, ubi Darius esset. At ille, cum Mazæus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultrà procedere, nihil aliud quàm fremitum hominum, hinnitumque equorum exaudisse nunciat. Mazæus quoque, conspectis procul exploratoribus, in castra se recipit, adventus hostium nuncius. Igitur Darius, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat, armari militem jubet, aciemque disponit. In lævo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, ³ mille admodum; Dahæ totidem; et Arachosii, Susianique quatuor millia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximus quadrigis erat Bessus cum octo millibus equitum, item Bactrianis. Massagetæ duobus millibus ⁴ agmen ejus claudebant: ⁵ pedites his plurium gentium non immixtos, sed suæ quisque nationis junxerat copias. Persas deindè cum Mardis, Sogdianisque, Ariobarzanes et Otobates ducebant. Illi partibus copiarum; summæ Orsines præerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque nobilissimum regem originem suæ referens. Hos aliæ gentes, ne sociis quidem satis notæ, sequebantur. Post quas quinquaginta quadrigas Phradates magno Caspianorum agmine anteedebat. Indi, cæterique

⁴ Rubri maris accolæ, ⁷ nomina veriùs quam auxilia, post currus erant. Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus quinquaginta: quæis ⁸ peregrinum militem adjunxerat. Hunc Armenii quos Minores vocant, Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitæ, et qui montes Cossæorum incolebant, sequebantur. Post hos ibant Gortuæ, gentes quidem Euboicæ, Medos quondam secuti, sed jam degeneres, et patrii moris ignari. Applicuerat his Phrygas, et Cataonas. Parthienorum deindè gens, incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythiâ profecti tenent, claudebant agmen. Hæc sinistri cornu acies fuit.

47. Dextrum tenebat natio majoris Armeniæ, Cadusique, Cappadoces, et Syri et Medi. His quoque falcati currus erant quinquaginta. Summa totius exercitûs: equites xlv. millia: pedestris acies ducenta millia expleverat. Hoc modo instructi, decem stadia procedunt, jussique subsistere, ⁹ armati hostem expectabant. Alexandri exercitum ¹⁰ pavor, cujus causa non suberat, invasit: quippè lymphati trepidare cœperunt, omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Cœli fulgor tempore æstivo ardenti similis internitens, ignis præbuit speciem; ¹¹ flammasque ex Darii castris splendere, velut illati temerè præsidiis, credebant. Quòd si percussis Mazæus, qui præsidebat itineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit. Nunc, dum ille segnis in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulto sedet, contentus non lacessi; Alexander, cognito pavorè exercitûs, signum ut consisterent dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora jubet; admonens, nullam subiti causam esse timoris, hostem procul stare. ¹² Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepère, nec quidquam ¹³ ex præsentibus tutius visum est, quàm eodem loco castra munire.

48. Postero die Mazæus, qui cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Mæcedonum prospiciebantur castra, conserat, sive metu, sive quia ¹⁴ speculari modò jussus erat, ad Darium rediit. Mæcedones cum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt; nam et tutior planitie erat, et indè acies hostium, quæ in campo ¹⁵ explicabatur, conspici poterat. Sed ¹⁶ caligo, quam circà humidi effuderant montes, universam

quidem rei faciem non abstulit: cæterum agminum discrimina, atque ordinem, prohibuit perspicui. Multitudo inundaverat campos; fremitusque tot millium, etiam procul stantium aures impleverat. Fluctuari animo Rex, et modò suum, modò Parmenionis consilium ¹⁷serâ aestimatione perpendere: quippè eò ventum erat, undè recipi exercitus, nisi victor, sine clade, non posset. Itaque dissimulato pavore, mercenarium equitem ex Pæoniâ præcedere jubet. Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat. Utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Jamque nitidior lux, discussâ caligine, aciem hostium ostenderat: et Macedones, sive alacritate, ¹⁸sive tædio exspectationis, ingentem pugnantium more edidè clamore. Redditus et a Persis, nemora vallesque circumjectas terribili sono impleverat. Nec jam contineri Macedones poterant, quin ¹⁹cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Melius adhuc ratus Alexander in eodem tumultu castra munire, ²⁰vallum jaci jussit: strenueque opere perfecto, in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.

XIII. 49. ¹Tum verò universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat. Armis insignibus equi virique splendebant; et omnia intentiore curâ præparari apud hostem, sollicitudo Prætorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendebat; ac ²pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam exspectatione mentem turbaverant. ³Igitur, sive dubius animi, sive ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset, exquirens. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, ⁴furto, non prælio opus esse censebat: ⁵intempestâ nocte posse opprimi hostes: discordes moribus, linguis, ad hæc et somno et improvise periculo territos, quandò in nocturnâ trepidatione coituros? At interdum primum terribiles occursuras facies Seytharum, Bactrianorumque. Ilirta illis ora, et intonsas comas esse. Præterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum: vanis et inanibus militem magis, quàm justis formidinis causis moveri: deindè, tantam multitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse: non in Ciliciæ angustis, et inviis callibus, sed in apertâ et

latâ planitie dimicandum fore. Omnes fermè Parmenioni assentiebant: Polyspercon, haud dubiè in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. Quem intuens Rex, (^o namque Parmenionem nuper acriùs quàm vellet inerepitem, rursùs castigare non sustinebat,) ⁷“Latrunculorum,” inquit, “et furum ista solertia est quam præcipitis mihi; quippè illorum votum unicum est, fallere. Meæ verò gloriæ semper aut absentiam Darii, aut angustias locorum, aut ⁸furtum noctis obstarè non patiar: palàm luce aggredi certum est. Malo me fortunæ pœniteat, quàm victoriæ pudeat. Ad hæc illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere Barbaros, et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, compertum habeo. Itaque ad prælium vos parate.” Sic incitatos ad corpora curanda dimisit.

50. Darius illud, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem facturum esse conjectans, frænatos equos stare, magnamque exercitûs partem in armis esse, ac vigilias intentiore curâ servari jusserrat. Ergò ignibus tota ejus castra fulgebant. Ipse cum du-cibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat; ⁹Solem Mithren, sacrumque et æternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloriâ, majorumque monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. Et profectò ¹⁰si qua divinæ opis auguria humanâ mente concipi possent, ¹¹Deos stare secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem: ¹²adhuc lymphatos ferri agique, arma jacentes: expetere Præsides Persarum imperii Deos debitas a recordibus pœnas. Nec ¹³ipsum ducem sanio-rem esse: quippè, ritu ferarum, prædam modò, quam expeteret, intuentem, in perniciem, quæ ante prædam posita esset, incurrere. Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat; noctemque, velut in eam certamine edicto, metu egerunt. Alexander non aliàs magis territus, ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari jubet. Ille in candidâ veste, verbenas manu præferens, capite velato, ¹⁴præibat preces Regi, Jovem, Minervam Victoriâque propitianti. Tunc quidem sacrificio ritè perpetrato, reliquum noctis acquieturus in tabernaculum rediit. Sed nec somnum capere, nec quietem pati poterat. Modò e jugo montis aciem in dextrum Persarum

cornu ¹⁵demittere ¹⁶agitabat, modò rectâ fronte concurrere hosti: interdùm hæsitare ¹⁷an potiùs in lævum detorqueret agmen. Tandem gravatum animi anxietate corpus ¹⁸altior somnus oppressit.

51. Jamque luce ortâ, duces ad accipienda imperia convenerant, insolito circa prætorium silentio attoniti. Quippè aliàs accersere ipsos, et interdùm morantes castigare assueverat. Tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur, et non somno quiescere, sed pavore mareere credebant. Non tamen quisquam e custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat, et jam tempus instabat; nec miles injussu ducis, aut arma capere poterat, aut in ordines ire. Diù Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, ¹⁹ipse pronunciat. Jamque exire necesse erat: tunc demùm intrat tabernaculum, sæpiùsque nomine compellatum, cùm voce non posset, tactu excitavit. "Multa lux," inquit, "est. Instructam aciem hostis admovit: tuus miles adhuc inermis exspectat imperium. Ubi est vigor ille animi tui? nempè excitare vigiles soles." Ad hæc Alexander: "Credisne me priùs somnum capere potuisse, quàm exonerarem animum sollicitudine, quæ quietem morabatur?" signumque pugnæ tubâ dari jussit. Et cùm in eâdem admiratione Parmenio perseveraret: "Minime," inquit, "mirum est. Ego enim, cùm Darius terras ureret, vicos exinde-
ret, alimenta corrumperet, ²⁰potens mei non eram. Nunc verò quid metuum, cùm acie decernere paret? Hereulò votum meum implevit; sed hujus quoque consilii ratio postea reddetur. Vos ite ad copias, quibus quisque præest: ego jam adeo, et quid fieri velim, exponam." ²¹Rarò admodùm, admonitu magis amicorum quàm metu discriminis quod adendum erat, uti solebat munimento corporis: tum quoque sumpto processit ad milites. Haud aliàs tam alacrem viderant Regem; et vultu ejus interrito, certam spem victoriæ augurabantur. Atque ille pròruto vallo exire copias jubet, aciemque disponit.

52. In dextro cornu locati sunt equites, quos *Agema* appellant. Præerat his Clitus, cui junxit Philotæ turmas, cæterosque Præfectos equitum lateri ejus applicuit. Ultima

Meleagri ala stabat, quam phalanx sequebatur: post phalangem Argyraspides erant; his Nicanor Parmenionis filius præerat: in subsidiis cum manu suâ Cœnos. Post eum Orestes, Lyncestesque. Post illos Polyspercon, dux peregrini militis. Hujus agminis ²² Amyntas princeps erat: Philippus Balaeri ²³ regebat eos, ²⁴ in societatem nuper ascitus. Hæc dextri cornu facies erat. In lævo Craterus Peloponnensium equites habebat, Achæorumque, et Loerensium et Maleôn, turmis sibi adjunctis; hos Thessali equites claudebant, Philippo duce. Peditum acies equitatu tegebatur: frons lævi cornu hæc erat. Sed ne circumiri posset a multitudine, ²⁵ ultimum agmen validâ manu cinxerat. Cornua quoque subsidiis firmavit: non rectâ fronte, sed a latere positâ, ut, si hostis circumvenire aciem tentâset, parata pugnæ forent. Illic Agriani erant, quibus Attalus præerat, adjunctis sagittariis Cretensibus. ²⁶ Ultimos ordines avertit a fronte, ut totam aciem orbe muniret. Illyrii hîc erant, adjuncto milite mercede conducto. Thracas quoque simul objecerat leviter armatos: ²⁷ adeoque aciem versatilem posuit, ut qui ultimi stabant, ne circumirentur, verti tamen et in frontem circumagi possent. Itaque non prima, quàm latera; non latera munitiora fuere, quàm terga.

53. His itâ ordinatis præcipit, ut si falcatos currus cum fremitu Barbari emitterent, ipsi, laxatis ordinibus impetum occurrentium silentio exciperent: haud dubius, sine noxâ transeursuros, ²⁸ si nemo se opponeret. Sin autem sine fremitu immisissent, eos ipsi clamore terrerent, pavidosque equos telis utrimque suffoderent. Qui cornibus præerant, extendere ea jussi, ita ut nec circumvenirentur, si arctius starent, ²⁹ nec tamen mediam aciem exinanirent. Impedimenta cum captivis, inter quos mater liberique Darii custodiebantur, haud procul ab acie in edito colle constituit; modico præsidio relicto. Lævum cornu, sicut aliàs, Parmenioni tuendum datum: ipse in dextro stabat. Nondum ad teli jactum pervenerant, cum Bion quidam transfuga, quanto maximo cursu poterat, ad Regem pervenit, nuncians ³⁰ murices ferreos in terram de-

fodisse Darium, quâ hostem equites emissurum esse credebat notatumque certo signo locum, ut fraus a suis evitari posset. Asservari transfugâ jusso, duces convocat, expositoque quod nunciatum erat, monet, ut regionem monstratam declinent, equitemque periculum edoceant. Cæterum hortantem exercitus exaudire non poterat, usum aurium intercipiente fremitu duorum agminum: sed in conspectu omnium duces et proximum quemque interequitans alloquebatur.

XIV. 54. "Emensis tot terras in spem victoriæ de quâ dimicandum foret, hoc unum superesse discrimen; Granicum hic amnem, Ciliciæque montes, et Syriam, Ægyptumque ¹præeuntibus raptas, ingentia spei gloriæque incitamenta" referebat. "Reprehensos ex fugâ Persas pugnatu-
 ros, quia fugere non possent: tertium diem jam metu exsangues, armis suis oneratos, in eodem vestigio hæc-
 ere: nullum desperationis illorum majus ²indici-
 um esse, quàm quòd urbes, quòd agros suos, urerent; ³quidquid non corrupissent, hostium esse confessi. Nomina modò vana gentium ignotarum ne extimescerent: neque enim ad belli discrimen pertinere, qui ab his Scythæ, quive Cadusii appellentur: ob id ipsum, quòd ignoti essent, ignobiles esse; nunquàm ignorari viros fortes: at imbelles, ex latebris suis erutos, nihil præter nomina afferre. Macedones virtute assecutos, ne quis toto orbe locus esset, qui tales viros ignoraret. Intuerentur Barbarorum inconditum agmen: alium nihil præter jaculum habere, alium fundâ saxa librare; paucis arma justa esse. Itaque illinc plures ⁴stare, hinc plures dimicatu-
 ros: nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent prælium, ni ipse cæteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum: spondere pro se, quot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: scire ipsos, unum penè se prædæ communis exsortem: in illis colendis ornandisque ⁵usurpare victoriæ præmia. Hæc se fortibus viris dicere. ⁶Si qui dissimiles eorum essent, illa fuisse dicturum, pervenisse eò, undè fugere non possent: tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot annibus, montibusque post tergum

objectis, iter in patriam et penates manu esse faciendum." Sic duces, sic proximi militum instincti sunt.

55. Darius in lævo cornu erat, magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum peditumque stipatus: contempseratque paucitatem hostis; ⁷ vanam aciem esse extensis cornibus ratus. Cæterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextrâ lævâque ad circumstantium agmina oculos manusque circumferens: ⁸ "Terrarum," inquit, "quas ⁹ Oceanus hinc alluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulò antè domini, jam non de gloriâ, sed de salute, et quod saluti præponitis, de libertate pugnandum est. Hic dies imperium, quo nullum ampliùs vidit ætas, aut constituet, aut finiet. Apud Granicum minimâ virium parte cum hoste certavimus. In Ciliciâ victos Syria poterat excipere. Magna munimenta regni Tigris atque Euphrates erant. Ventum est eò, undè pulsus ne fugæ quidem locus est, omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt. Non incolas suos urbes, non cultores habent terræ. Conjuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem: parata hostibus præda, nisi pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus. ¹⁰ Quod mearum fuit partium, exercitum, quem penè immensa planities vix caperet, comparavi. Equos, arma distribui; commeatus, ne tantæ multitudini deessent, providi: locum, in quo acies explicari posset, elegi. Cætera in vestrà potestate sunt: audete modò vincere: ¹¹ famamque, infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: quæ ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quædam animalia, ¹² emissio aculeo, torpet. Hi verò campi deprehendere paucitatem, quam Ciliciæ montes absconderant. Videtis ordines raros, cornua extenta, mediam aciem vanam et exhaustam. Nam ultimi, quos locavit adversos, terga jam præbent: obteri mehereculè equorum ungulis possunt, etiamsi nil præter falcatos currus emisero: et bello vicerimus, si vincimus prælio: nam ne illis quidem ad fugam locus est. ¹³ Hinc Euphrates, illinc Tigris prohibet inclusos: et quæ antè pro illis erant, in contrarium conversa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est; illud prædâ grave. Impli-

catos ergò spoliis nostris trucidabimus: eademque res et causa victoriæ erit, et fructus. Quòd si quem e vobis nomen gentis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse, non corpora. Multum enim sanguinis invicem hausimus, et semper gravior in paucitate jactura est. Nam Alexander quantuscumque ignavis et timidus videri potest, unum ¹⁴ animal est, et si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors, adhuc nostro pavore, quàm suâ virtute, felicius. Nihil autem potest esse diuturnum, ¹⁵ cui non subest ratio. Licèt felicitas aspirare videatur, ¹⁶ tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Præterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna nunquàm ¹⁷ simpliciter indulget. Forsitan ità Dii fata ordinaverunt, ut Persarum imperium quod secundo cursu per cexxx. annos ad summum fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis, quàm affligerent, admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanæ, ejus nimia in prosperis rebus oblivio est. ¹⁸ Modò Græcis ultrò bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus illatum. Jaetamur invicem varietate fortunæ. Videlicet imperium quod mutuò affectamus, una gens non capit. Cæterùm, etiamsi spes non subesset, necessitas tamen stimulare deberet. Ad extrema perventum est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Oclum in spem hujus imperii genitum, illam sobolem regiæ stirpis, illos principes, duces vestros Regum instar, vinctos habet: ¹⁹ nisi quod in vobis est, ipse ego majore parte mei captivus sum. Eripite ²⁰ viscera mea ex vinculis, restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipse mori non recuso, parentem, liberos, nam conjugem in illo carcere amisi. Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, implorare patrios Deos; opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut servitate, ut compedibus, ut ²¹ precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis æquo animo iis servire, quorum Reges esse fastidiunt? Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed quò propiùs discrimen accedo, hoc minùs his, quæ dixi, possum esse contentus. ²² Per, ego vos, Deos patrios, æternumque ignem, qui præfertur altaribus fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per æternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium

primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. Ite alacres et spe pleni, ut quam gloriam accepistis a majoribus vestris, posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris jam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse non patrio more solùm, sed etiam ut conspici possim, curru vehor. Nec recuso quominùs imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum, sive ignaviæ fuero."

XV. 56. Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfugâ insidiarum locum circumiret, et Dario, qui lævum cornu tuebatur occurreret, ¹ agmen obliquum incedere jubet. Darius quoque eodem ² suum obvertit, Besso admonito, ut Massagetæ equites in lævum Alexandri cornu a latere invchi juberet. Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat, quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigæ, quò plures, nondùm satis proviso impetu, obtererent. Alios ergò hastæ multùm ultra temonem eminentes, alios ab utroque latere demissæ fales laceravère. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed effusâ turbaverant fugâ ordines. Mazæus quoque percussis metum incussit, mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis impedimenta circumvchi jussis: ratus captivos quoque, qui simul asservabantur, rupturos vincula, cùm suos appropinquantes vidissent. ³ Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in lævo cornu erat. Properè igitur Polydamanta mittit ad Regem, qui et periculum ostenderet, et quid fieri juberet, consuleret. Ille, audito Polydamante: "Abi, nuncia," inquit, "Parmenioni, si acie vicerimus, non nostra solùm nos recuperaturos, sed omnia, quæ hostium sunt occupaturos. ⁴ Proindè non est quod quidquam virium subducat ex acie, sed, ut me et Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno, fortiter dimicet." Interim Barbari impedimenta turbaverant, cæsisque plerisque custodum, captivi, vinculis ruptis, quidquid obvium erat, quo armari possent, rapiunt: et aggregati suorum equitibus, Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo invadunt; ⁵ lætique circa Sisygambim, vicisse Darium.

ingenti cæde prostratos hostes, ad ultimum etiam impedimentis exutos esse nunciant: quippè eandem fortunam ubiquè esse credebant, et victores Persas ad prædam discursisse. Sisygambis, hortantibus captivis ut animum a mœrore allevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit. Non vox ulla exiit ei; non oris color vultusve mutatus est: sedit immobilis: (credo, ⁶præcoce gaudio verita fortunam irritare,) adcò ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam, fuerit incertum.

57. Inter hæc Menidas præfectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem impedimentis laturus advenerat; ⁷incertum, suone consilio, an Regis imperio: sed non sustinuit Cadusiorum, Scytharumque impetum: quippè vix tutato certamine, effugit ad Regem, amissorum impedimentorum testis magis, quàm vindex. Jam consilium Alexandri vicebat ⁸dolor, et ne cura recuperandi sua militem a prælio averteret, non immeritò verebatur. Itaque Aretem, ducem hastatorum, (⁹*Sarissophoros* vocabant,) adversus Scythas mittit. Inter hæc currus, ¹⁰qui circa prima signa turbaverant aciem, in phalangem inveci erant. Macedones, ¹¹confirmatis animis, in medium agmen accipiunt. Vallo similis acies erat; junxerant hastas, et ab utroque latere temerè ¹²incurrentium ilia suffodiebant: circumire deindè currus, et ¹³propugnatores præcipitare cœperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem compleverat. Hi territos regere non poterant: equi crebrâ jactatione cervicum, non jugum modò excusserant, sed etiam currus everterant: vulnerati interfectos trahebant: nec consistere territi, nec progredi debiles poterant. ¹⁴Paucæ tamen evasèrè quadrigæ in ultimam aciem, iis, quibus inciderunt, miserabili morte consumptis; quippè amputata virorum membra humi jacebant. ¹⁵Et quia calidis adhuc vulneribus aberat dolor, trunci quoque, et debiles, arma tamen non omittebant: donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent.

58. Interim Aretes, Scytharum, qui impedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso, graviùs territis instabat. Supervenèrè deindè missi a Dario Bactriani, pugnaeque vertèrè fortunam.

Multi ergò Macedonum primo impetu ¹⁶ obtriti sunt: plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt. Tum Persæ clamore sublato, qualem victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem quasi ubiquè profligatum, incurrunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari; prælium, quod jam elanguerat, solus accendere; confirmatisque tandem animis ire in hostem jubet. ¹⁷ Rarior acies erat in lævo cornu Persarum: namque indè Bactriani decesserant ad opprimenda impedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit, et multâ cæde hostium invelitur. At qui in dextro cornu erant Persæ, spe posse eum includi, agmen suum a tergo ¹⁸ dimicantis opponunt. ¹⁹ Ingensque periculum in medio hærens adisset, ni equites Agriani, calcaribus subditis, circumfusus Regi Barbaros adorti essent, ²⁰ aversosque cædendo in se obverti coëgissent. Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a tergo hostem habebat. ²¹ Qui averso ei instabant, ab Agrianis militibus premebantur. Bactriani, impedimentis hostium direptis, reversi, ordines suos recuperare non poterant. Plura simul abrupta a cæteris agmina ubicumquè alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. Duo Reges, junctis propè agminibus, prælium accendebant. Plures Persæ cadebant. Par fermè utrimque numerus vulnerabatur. Curru Darius, Alexander equo vehebatur. Utrumque delecti tuebantur, sui immemores: quippè amisso Rege nec volebant salvi esse, nec poterant. Ante oculos sui quisque Regis mortem occumbere ducebant egregium. ²² Maximum tamen periculum adibant, quos maximè tuebantur: quippè sibi quisque cæsi Regis expetebat decus.

59. Cæterùm, sive ²³ ludibrium oculorum, sive vera species fuit, qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paululùm super caput Regis placidè volantem aquilam; non sonitu armorum, non gemitu morientium territam; diuque circa equum Alexandri, pendenti magis, quam volanti similis, apparuit. Certè Vates Aristander albâ veste indutus, et dextrâ præferens lauream, militibus in pugnam intentis, avem monstravit, haud dubium victoriæ auspicium. Ingens ergò alacritas ac fiducia paulò antè territos accendit ad pugnam:

utique postquam auriga Darii, qui ante ipsum sedens equos regebat, hastâ transfixus est. Nec aut Persæ, aut Macedones dubitavêre, quin ipse Rex esset occisus. Lugubri ergò ululatu, et incondito clamore, gemituque, totam ferè aciem adhuc æquo Marte pugnantium, turbavêre cognati Darii et armigeri: ²⁴ lævoque cornu in fugam effuso, destituerant currum, quem a dextrâ parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. Dicitur, acinace stricto, Darius dubitâsse, an fugæ dedecus honestâ morte vitaret. ²⁵ Sed eminens curru, nondùm omnem suorum aciem prælio excedentem destituero erubescibat. Dùm inter spem et desperationem hæsitat, sensim Persæ cedebant, et laxaverant ordines. Alexander, mutato equo, (quippe plures fatigaverat,) resistentium adversa ora fodiebat, fugientium terga. Jamque non pugna, sed cædes erat, cùm Darius quoque currum suum in fugam vertit. ²⁶ Hærebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quæ ad cælum ferebatur, abstulerat. Ergò haud sceûs quàm in tenebris errabant, ad sonitum notæ vocis, ut signum, ²⁷ subindè cocuntes. Exaudiebatur tantùm strepitus habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem verberabantur. Hæc sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

XVI. 60. At in lævo Macedonum cornu, quod Parmenio, (sicut antè dictum est) tuebatur, ¹ longè aliâ fortunâ utriusque partis res gerebatur. Mazæus cum omni suorum equitatu vehementer invectus, urgebat Macedonum alas. ² Jamque abundans multitudine aciem circumvehi cœperat, cùm Parmenio equites nunciare jubet Alexandro, in quo discrimine ipsi essent; nisi maturè subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam. Jam multum viæ præceperat Rex, imminens fugientium tergis, cùm a Parmenione tristis nuncius venit. ³ Refrænare equos jussit, qui vehabantur, agmenque constitit: ⁴ frendente Alexandro, cripi sibi victoriam e manibus, et Darium felicius fugere, quàm sequi se. Interim ad Mazæum superati Regis fama pervenerat. Itaque quanquam validior erat, fortunâ tamen partium territus, percussis languidiùs instabat. Par-

menio ignorabat quidem causam suâ sponte pugnae remissae : sed occasione vincendi strenuè est usus. Thessalos equites ad se vocari jubet : “ Ecquid,” inquit, “ videtis istos, qui ferociter modò instabant, pedem referre subito pavore perterritos ? Nimirùm ⁶ nobis quoque Regis nostri fortuna vincit. ⁶ Omnia Persarum caede strata sunt : quid cessatis ? an ne fugientibus quidem pares estis ? ” Vera dicere videbatur, et spes languentes quoque crexerat : subditis calcaribus proruere in hostem : et illi jam non sensim, sed citato gradu ⁷ recedebant : nec quidquam fugae, nisi quòd terga nondùm verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quænam in dextro cornu fortuna Regis esset, repressit suos. Mazæus, dato pugnae ⁸ spatio, non recto itinere, sed majore, et ob id tutiore circuitu, Tigrim superat, et Babylonem cum reliquiis devieti exercitûs intrat.

61. Darius, paucis fugae comitibus ad Lyeum amnem contenderat : quo trajecto, dubitavit an solveret pontem : quippè hostem jam affore nunciabatur. Sed tot millia suorum, quæ nondùm ad amnem pervenerant, ponte reciso, prædam hostis fore videbat. Abeuntem, cùm intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat, ⁹ malle se insequentibus iter dare, quàm auferre fugientibus. Ipse ¹⁰ ingens spatium fugâ emensus, mediâ ferè nocte Arbela pervenit. Quis tot ludibria fortunæ, ducum agminumque cædem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum, aut animo assequi queat, aut oratione complecti ? Propemodùm sæculi res in unum illum diem fortuna cumulavit. Alii quâ brevissimum patebat iter, alii diversos saltus, et ignotos sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles implicabantur. Deindè, misericordiâ in metum versâ, qui sequi non poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis præcipuè fatigatos et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora, præterfluentem aquam hianti ore captantes. Quam cùm avidè turbidam hausissent, ¹¹ tendebantur extemplò præcordia premente limo : resolutisque et torpentibus membris. cùm supervenisset hos

tis, novis vulneribus excitabantur. Quidam, occupatis proximis rivis, diverterant longius, ut, quidquid occulti humoris usquàm manaret, exciperent. Nec ulla adeò avia et sicca lacuna erat, quæ vestigantium sitim falleret. E proximis verò itineri vicis, senum ululatus fœminarumque exaudiebantur, barbaro ritu Darium adhuc Regem clamantium.

62. Alexander, ¹² ut suprâ dictum est, inhibito suorum cursu, ad Lyeum amnem pervenerat: ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat pontem, et plerique, cùm hostis urgeret in flumen se præcipitaverant, gravesque armis, et prælio ac fugâ defatigati, gurgitibus hauriebantur. Jamque non pons modò fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat, agmina sua improvide subindè cumulantes: quippè ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare cœperunt. Alexander, (instantibus suis, impune abeuntem hostem sequi ¹³ permetteret;) “hebetia tela esse, et manus fatigatas, tantoque cursu corpora exhausta, et præceps in noctem dici tempus,” ¹⁴ causatus est. Reverâ de lævo cornu, ¹⁵ quod adhuc in acie stare credebat, sollicitus, reverti ad ferendam opem suis ¹⁶ statuit. Jamque signa converterat, cùm equites a Parmenione missi, illius quoque partis victoriam nunciant. Sed nullum eo die majus periculum ¹⁷ adiit, quàm dùm copias reducit in castra. Pauci eum et incompositi sequebantur ovan-tes victoriâ. Quippè omnes hostes, aut in fugam effusos, aut in acie cecidisse credebant. Cùm repentè ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primò inhibuere cursum; deindè Mæcedonum paucitate conspectâ, turmas in obvios concitaverunt. Ante signa Rex ibat, ¹⁸ dissimulato magis periculo, quàm spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in ¹⁹ dubiis rebus felicitas. Namque præfectum equitatûs avidum certaminis, et ob id ipsum incautiùs in se ruentem, hastâ transfixit. Quo ex equo lapso, proximum, ac deindè plures, eodem telo confodit. Invasère turbatos amici quoque, nec Persæ inulti cadebant: quippè non ²⁰ universæ acies, quàm hæc ²¹ tumultuariæ manus vehementiùs inière certamen. Tandem Barbari, cùm obscurâ luce fuga tutior videretur esse, quàm pugna, diversis agminibus

abiere. Rex extraordinario periculo defunctus, incolumes suos reduxit ad castra.

63. Cecidère Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, millia *XL*. Macedonum minùs quam *ccc* desiderati sunt. Cæterùm hanc victoriam Rex majore ex parte virtuti, quàm fortunæ suæ debuit; ²² animo, non (ut antea) loco vicit. Nam et aciem peritissimè instruxit, et promptissimè ipse pugnavit, et ²³ magno consilio jaecturam sarcinarum impedimentorumque contempsit, cùm in ipsâ acie summum rei videret esse discrimen: dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu, pro victore se gessit. Percussos deindè hostes fudit: fugientes, ²⁴ quod in illo ardore animi vix credi potest, prudentiùs quàm avidiùs persecutus est. Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante, instare cedentibus perseverâsset, aut suâ culpâ victus esset, aut alienâ virtute vicisset. ²⁵ Jam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium extimuisset, victori aut foedè fugiendum, aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit. ²⁶ Ne duces quidem copiarum suâ laude fraudandi sunt. Quippe vulnera quæ quisque excepit, indicia virtutis sunt. Hephæstionis brachium hastâ ictum est. Perdicas ac Cœnus, et Menidas, sagittis propè occisi. Et, si verè æstimare Macedonas, ²⁷ qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur, et Regem talibus ministris, et illos tanto Rege fuisse dignissimos.



LIBER V.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Dario Mediæ fines ingresso, Arbelis potitur Alexander, et Babilone, cujus situs, amplitudo, et corrupti mores describuntur.

2. Minutis præmia proponit, ut his otium excuteret. Susianam urbem, ac Regem Persiæ thesauros recipit, et Zisygambîm solatur.

3. Uxorum regione superatâ, Madatem præfectum, ac deditos et captivos tum libertate, tum immunitate donat: Persidemque intrare cogitant, ab Ari-barzane retrahere cogitur.

4. Captivo quodam iter paucis cognitum aperiente, Persarum exercitum ipso Ariabazane occiso delet Alexander.

5. Ad Persepolim properans captivorum Græcorum quatuor millia liberat.

6. Opulentissimâ Persepoli direptâ, interiorem Persidis regionem petit, ac Mardorum domat gentem.

7. Alexander in convivio a Thaidē aliisque castrensibus scortis impulsus, Persarum regiam incendit: deindē persequi Dariū statuit.

8. Darii suos ad pugnam hortantis oratio.

9. Variæ magnatum sententiæ, ac tumultus, ob Nabarzanis, qui cum Besso proditiōis societatem inerat, consiliū.

10. Bessi et Nabarzanis de Dario prodendo aut occidendo nefaria deliberatio: quam miris artibus occultant.

11. Insidiæ proditorum Darii aperiuntur, qui Græcorum præsens tutumque respuit auxilium, paratus perire, si salvum esse nollent sui milites.

12. Bessus Dariū fletis verbis et lacrymis delusum comprehendit, aureisque vincenim compedibus, in sordido vehiculo deduci curat.

13. Alexander, audito Darii periculo, ad Persarum exercitum contendit. Bessus autem cum patricidis aliis arma vultumque metuens victoris, Dariū multis confossum vulneribus relinquit, fugâque sibi consulere conatur.

I. 1. QUÆ interim ¹ ductu imperioque Alexandri, vel in Græciâ, vel in Illyriis, ac Thraciâ gesta sunt, si quæque ² suis temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendæ sunt res Asiæ, ³ quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darii universas in conspectu dari; et sicut inter se cohererent tempore, ita opere ipso coniungi, haud paulò aptius videri potest. Igitur, quæ prælio apud Arbela conjuncta sunt, ordiar dicere. Darius mediâ ferè nocte Arbela pervenerat, eòdemque magnæ partis amicorum ejus ac militum fugam fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis, exponit, haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeberrimas urbes, agrosque omni copiâ rerum abundantes, petiturus esset: prædam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites ejus spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu ⁴ salutis fore: quippe se deserta euni expeditâ manu petiturum. Ultima regni adhuc intacta esse: indè bello vires haud ægrè reparaturum. ⁵ Occuparet sanè gazam avidissima gens, et ex longâ fame satiare se auro, mox futura prædæ sibi. Didicisse usu, pretiosam supellectilem, pellicesque et spadonum agmina, nihil aliud fuisse, quàm onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, ⁶ quibus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio, quippè Babylonem urbem opulentissimam dedi cernentibus: jam Susa, jam cætera orua-

menta regni, causam belli, victorem occupaturum. At ille docere pergit, non ⁷ speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse. Ferro geri bella, non auro; viris, non urbium teetis: ⁸ omnia sequi armatos. Sic majores suos percussos in principio rerum, celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur sive confirmatis eorum animis, sive imperium magis, quàm consilium sequentibus, Mediæ fines ingressus est.

2. Paulò post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regiâ supellectili, ditique gazâ repleta. Quatuor millia talentum fuere: præterea pretiosæ vestes, totius (ut suprâ dictum est) exercitus opibus in illam sedem congestis. Ingruentibus deindè morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis jacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. ⁹ Euntibus a parte lævâ Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio, ¹⁰ campestre iter, est. Inter Tigrin et Euphratē ¹¹ jacentia tam uberi, et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat. Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque anne manat; toto ferè solo propter venas aquarum resudante. Ipsi amnes ex Armeniæ montibus profluunt, ac ¹² magno deindè aquarum divortio iter, quod cœperunt, perecurrunt. Duo millia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt, ¹³ qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniæ montes notaverunt. Idem cū ¹⁴ Mediæ et Gordianorum terras secare cœperunt, paulatim in ¹⁵ arctius coeunt, et ¹⁶ quò longiùs manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terræ relinquunt. Vicini maximè sunt in campis, quos incolæ *Mesopotamiam* appellant: mediam namque ab utroque latere concludunt. ¹⁷ Idem per Babyloniorum fines in rubrum Mare prorumpunt. Alexander quartis castris ad Mennin urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est: ex quâ fons ingentem vim bituminis effundit; adeò, ut satis constet, Babylonios muros ¹⁸ ingentis operis, hujus fontis bitumine interlitos fuisse.

3. Cæterum Babylonem procedenti Alexandro Mazæus, qui ex acie in urbem eam confugerat, cum adultis liberis supplex occurrit, urbem, seque dedens. Gratus adventus ejus fuit Regi: quippe magni operis futura erat obsidio tam munitæ urbis. Ad hoc vir illustris, et ¹⁹ manu promptus, fami-

que etiam proximo prælio celebris, et cæteros ad deditiōem sui incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benignè cum liberis excepit. Cæterùm quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent, ingredi suos jubet. Magna pars Babyloniorum constiterat in muris, avida cognoscendi novum Regem. Plures obviàm egressi sunt. Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiæ pecuniæ custos, ne studio a Mazæo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat; argenteis altaribus utroque latere dispositis, quæ non thure modò, sed omnibus odoribus cumulaverat. Eum dona sequebantur, greges pecorum, equorumque: leones quoque et pardales caveis præferebantur. ²⁰ Magi deindè, suo more patrium carmen canentes. Post hos Chaldæi Babyloniorumque non vates modò sed etiam artifices, cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes hi Regum canere soliti; Chaldæi siderum motus, et statas temporum vices ostendere. Equites deindè Babylonii, suo atque equorum cultu, ²¹ ad luxuriam magis, quàm ad magnificentiam exacto, ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus, oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire jussit. Ipse ²² cum curru urbem, ac deindè regiam intravit. Postero die suppellectilem Darii, et omnem pecuniam recognovit.

4. Cæterùm, ²³ ipsius urbis pulebritudo ac vetustas, non Regis modò, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud immeritò convertit. Semiramis eam condiderat, vel (ut plerique credidère) Belus, cujus regia ostenditur. Murus instructus ²⁴ latereulo coetili, bitumine interlitus, spatium xxx et duorum pedum latitudinem amplectitur: quadrigæ inter se occurrentes sine periculo ²⁵ commicare dicuntur. Altitudo muri ²⁶ centum cubitorum eminet spatio. Turres denis pedibus, quàm murus, altiores sunt. • Totius operis ambitus ²⁷ ccclxv stadia complectitur. ²⁸ Singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse, memoriæ proditum est. Edificia non sunt admota muris, sed ferè spatium unius ²⁹ jugeris absunt. Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt. Per xc stadia habitatur: nec omnia ³⁰ continua sunt; credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cætera serunt,

coluntque: ut si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. Euphrates interfluit, magnæque molis ³¹ crepidinibus coërcetur. Sea ³² omnium operum magnitudinem circumveniunt cavernæ ingentes, ³³ in altitudinem pressæ ad accipiendum impetum fluminis: quod ubi appositæ crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corripere, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. Coctili laterculo structi sunt. Totum opus bitumine astringitur. Pons lapideus, flumini impositus, ³⁴ jungit urbem. Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est: quippè Euphrates altum limum vehit, ³⁵ quo penitus ad fundamenta jacienda egesto, vix suffulciendo operi firmum reperiunt solum. Arenæ autem subindè cumulatae, et saxis, quibus pons sustinetur, annexæ, morantur amnem: qui retentus acriùs, quàm si libero cursu mearet, illiditur. Arcem quoque ambitu viginti stadia complexam habet: triginta pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa sunt. Ad octoginta summum munimenti fastigium pervenit.

5. Super arcem, vulgatum Græcorum ³⁶ fabulis miraculum, pensiles horti sunt, summam murorum altitudinem æquantes, multarumque arborum umbrâ et proceritate amœni. Saxo ³⁷ pilæ, quæ totum onus sustinent, instructæ sunt. Super pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est, patiens terræ, quam altam injiciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras, adeòque validas arbores sustinent moles, ut stipites earum octo cubitorum spatium crassitudine æquent, in quinquaginta pedum altitudinem emineant, et frugiferæ æquè sint, ac si terrâ suâ alerentur. Et, cùm vetustas non opera solùm manu facta, sed etiam ipsam naturam paulatim exedendo perimat: hæc moles, quæ tot arborum radicibus premitur, tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, inviolata durat: quippè viginti lati parietes sustinent, undecim pedum intervallo distantes, ut procul visentibus sylvæ montibus suis imminere videantur. ³⁸ Syriæ Regem Babylone regnantem hoc opus esse molitum, memoriæ proditum est, ³⁹ amore conjugis victum, quæ, desiderio nemorum sylvarumque in campestribus locis, virum compulit

naturæ genium amœnitate hujus operis imitari. Diutius in hâc urbe quàm usquam constitit Rex, nec ullus locus disciplinæ militari magis nocuit. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Convivales ludi totâ Perside Regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt. Babylonii maximè in vinum, et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, ⁴⁰ effusi sunt. ⁴¹ Fœminarum convivia incuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summa quocque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum ⁴² (honus auribus habitus sit) ima corporum velamenta præjiciunt: nec meretricum hoc dedecus est sed matronarum virginumque apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.

6. Inter hæc flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiæ per xxxiv dies saginatus, ad ea quæ sequebantur discrimina, haud dubiè debilior futurus ⁴³ fuit, si hostem habuisset. Cæterùm, quò minus damnum sentiret, identidem ⁴⁴ incremento novabatur. Namque ⁴⁵ Amyntas Andromenis ab Antipatro Macedonum peditum sex millia adduxit: quingentos prætereà ejusdem generis equites. Cùm his de Thraecas, adjunctis peditibus suæ gentis tribus millibus et quingentis. Ex Peloponneso mercenarius miles ad quatuor millia advenerat, cum cccclxxx equitibus. Idem Amyntas adduxerat quinquaginta principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis. Quippè inter epulas hi sunt Regis ministri. Iidemque equos incunti prælium admovent, venantemque comitantur, et ⁴⁶ vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque Præfectorum et Ducum hæc ⁴⁷ incrementa sunt, et rudimenta. Igitur, Rex arci Babyloniae Agathone præsidere jussu, cum septingentis Macedonum, trecentisque mercede conductis, Prætores, qui regioni Babyloniae, et civitati præessent, Menetem et Apollodorum reliquit. His duo millia peditum cum mille talentis data. Utrique præceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. Mazæum transfugam Satripiâ Babyloniae donat. Bagophanem, qui arcem tradiderat, se sequi jussit. Armenia Mithreni Sardium proditori data est.

Ex pecuniâ deindè Babyloniæ traditâ Macedonum equitibus sexcenti denarii tributî: peregrinus eques quingenos accepit: ⁴⁶ duceños pedes, trium stipendium mensium.

II. 7. His itâ compositis, in regionem, quæ Satrapene vocatur, pervenit. Fertilis terra, copiâ rerum, et omni com-
meatu abundans. Itaque ¹ diutius ibi substitit; ac, ne desides
otio demitterent animos, iudices dedit, præmiæque proposuit
de virtute militari certantibus. Novem, qui fortissimi iudicati
essent, singulis militum millibus præfuturi erant, (*Chiliar-*
chas vocabant,) tunc primûm in hunc numerum copiis distri-
butis. ² Namque antea quingenariæ cohortes fuerant, nec
fortitudinis præmia cesserant. Ingens militum turba convene-
rat, egregio interfutura certamini, testis ³ eadem ejusque fac-
torum, et ⁴ de iudicibus latura sententiam: quippè veròne an
falsò honos cuique haberetur, ignorari non poterat. Primus
omnium virtutis causâ donatus est Atharrias senior, qui omis-
sum apud Halicarnassum a junioribus prælium, unus maximè
accenderat; proximus ei Antigenes visus est; tertium locum
Philotas Angeus obtinuit; quartus Amyntæ datus est; post
hos Antigonus, et ab eo Lyncestes Amyntas fuit; septimum
locum Theodotus; ⁵ * * * *; ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. In
disciplinâ quoque militaris rei pleraque a majoribus tradita
summâ utilitate mutavit. Nam cum antè equites in suam quis-
que gentem describerentur, seorsum a cæteris; exempto na-
tionum discrimine, Præfectis, non utiquè suarum gentium,
sed delectis attribuit. Tubâ, cum castra movere vellet, sig-
num dabat; cujus sonus plerumque, tumultuantium fremitu
exoriente, haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergò perticam, quæ un-
diquè conspici posset, supra prætorium statuit; ex quâ
signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur
ignis noctu, fumus interdium.

8. Jamque Susa ⁶ ei adituro, Abulites regionis ejus Præ-
fectus, sive Darii jussu, ut Alexandrum præda retineret, sive
suâ sponte, filium obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promit-
tens. Benignè juvenem excepit Rex, et eo duce ad Choaspen
amnem pervenit, delicatam (ut fama est) vehentem aquam.

Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. Dromades cameli inter dona erant, velocitatis eximiae: duodecim Elephanti a Dario ex India acciti; non jam terror (ut speraverant) Macedonum, sed auxilium; opes victi ad victorem transferente fortunâ. Ut verò urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egressit, quinquaginta millia talentum argenti, non signati formâ, sed rudi pondere. Multi Reges tantas opes longâ aetate cumulaverant liberis, posterisque, ut arbitrabantur; quas una hora in externi Regis manus intulit. Consedit deinde in regiam sellâ, multò excellentiore, quàm pro habitu corporis. Itaque cum pedes imum gradum non contingerent, unus ex Regis pueris mensam subdidit pedibus; et cum spadonem, qui Darii fuerat, ingemiscentem conspexisset Rex, causam moestitiae requisivit. Ille indicat, Darium vesci in eâ solitum: seque sacram ejus mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrymis conspiciere non posse. Subiit ergò Regem verecundia violandi hospitales Deos. Jamque subduci jubebat, cum Philotas: "Minimè verò hæc feceris, Rex, sed omen quoque accipe: mensam, ex quâ libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subjectam."

9. Rex, Persidis fines aditurus, Susa urbem Archelao, et præsidium trium millium tradidit. Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est; Macedonum aetate gravibus præsidere arcis custodiæ jussis. Thesaurorum Callierati tutela permissa. Satrapia regionis Susianæ restituta Abuliti. Matrem quoque Darii et liberos in eadem urbe deponit. Ac fortè Macedonicas vestes, multamque purpuram dono ex Macedonia sibi missam, cum his, quæ eam confecerant, tradi Sisygambi jussit, (omni namque honore eam, et filii quoque pietate prosequatur,) admonerique, ut si cordi quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas assuefaceret, donoque doceret dare. Ad hanc vocem lacrymæ obortæ prodidère animum aspernantis id munus: quippè non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae accipiunt, quàm admoveere lanæ manus. Nunciant, qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisygambim; dignaque res excusatione et solatio visa. Ipse ergò pervenit ad eam,

et, "Mater," inquit, "hanc vestem, quâ indutus sum, sororum non solum donum, sed etiam opus vides. Nostri decerpere me mores. ⁹ Cave, obsecro, ¹⁰ in contumeliam accipias ignorationem meam. Quæ tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abundè servata sunt. Scio ¹¹ apud vos filium in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi cum illa permisit: quotiescumque ad te veni, donec, ut considerem, annueres, restiti. Procumbens venerari me sæpè voluisti; inhibui. Dulcissimæ matri Olympiadi nomen debitum, tibi reddo."

III. 10. Mitigato ¹ ejus animo, Rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium. *Pasitigrim* incolæ vocant. Oritur in montibus Uxiorum, et per *L* stadia sylvestribus ripis præceps inter saxa devolvitur. Accipiunt deindè eum campi, quos clementiore alveo præterit, jam ² navium patiens, de stadia sunt mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat. Alexander, amne superato, cum *ix* millibus peditum, et Agrianis sagittariisque et Græcorum mercenariis militibus, *iii* additis millibus Thracum, in regionem Uxiorum pervenit. Finitima Susis est, et in primam Persidem excurrit: arcum inter se et Susianos aditum relinquens. Madates erat hujus regionis Præfectus, haud sanè ³ temporum homo. Quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent, occultum iter esse per calles, et aversum ab urbe: si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros. Cum consilium placuisset, iidem itinerum fuerunt duces: mille et quingenti mercede conducti, et Agriani ferè mille Tauroni Præfecto dati, ac post solis occasum iter ingredi jussi. Ipse tertiâ vigiliâ castris motis, circa lucis ortum superaverat angustias: cæsâque materiâ cratibus et pluteis faciendis, ut qui turres admo-verent, ⁴ extra teli ictum essent, urbem obsidere cœpit. Prærupta erant omnia, saxis et cotibus impedita. Multis ergò vulneribus depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen; quia Rex inter primos constiterat, interrogans, "tot urbium victores an erubescerent hære in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis

simul?" Jam inter hæc eminùs petebatur; cum, testitudine objectâ, milites, qui, ut indè discederet, perpellere nequiverant, tuebantur.

11. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit: ad ejus conspectum, et animi hostium labare, et Macedones acriùs prælium inire cœperunt. ⁶ Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat, nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit. Magna pars in arcem concessit. Indè triginta oratoribus missis ad deprecandum, triste responsum a Rege redditur, non esse veniæ locum. Itaque suppliciorum metu perculsi, ad Sisygambim Darii matrem, occulto itinere, ignotoque hostibus, mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa Regem mitigaret, haud ignari parentis eam loco diligere, colique. Et Madates sororis ejus filiam secum matrimonio junxerat, Darium propinquâ cognatione contingens. Diù Sisygambis supplicum precibus repugnavit; ⁷ abnuens deprecationem pro illis convenire fortunæ, in quâ esset: adjecitque, metuere sese ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, sæpiùsque cogitare, captivam esse se, quàm reginam fuisse. Ad ultimum victa, litteris Alexandrum itâ deprecata est, ut ipsam excusaret quod deprecaretur: petere se ut illis quoque, ⁸ si minùs, sibi ignoscere: pro necessario ac propinquo suo, jam non hoste, sed supplice tantùm vitam precari. Moderationem elementiamque Regis, ⁹ quæ tunc fuit, vel una hæc res possit ostendere: non Madati modò ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos libertate atque immunitate donavit, urbem reliquit intactam: agros sine tributo colere permisit. ¹⁰ A victore Dario plura mater non impetrasset. Uxiorum deindè gentem subactam, Susianorum Satrapie ¹¹ contribuit: divisisque eum Parmenione copiis, illum campestri itinere procedere jubet: ipse cum expedito agmine jugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit.

12. Omni hæc regione vastatâ, tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi *Susibus Pylas* vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum viginti quinque millibus peditum occu-

paverat rupes, abscissas et undiquè præruptas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli jactum Barbari stabant, ¹¹ de industriâ quieti, et parentibus similes, donec in arctissimas fauces penetraret agmen. Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum verò ingentis magnitudinis saxa per ¹² montium proua devolvunt, quæ incussa sæpiùs subjacentibus petris majore vi incedeant: nec singulos modò, ¹³ sed agmina proterebant. Fundis quoque excussi lapides, et sagittæ undique ingerebantur. Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed quòd inulti quidem, ferarum ritu, velut in foveâ deprehensi, cæderentur. Irâ igitur in rabiem versâ, eminentia saxa complexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere: ¹⁴ ea ipsa multorum simul manibus correpta et convulsa, in eos, qui commoverant, recidebant. ¹⁵ Nec stare ergò, nec niti, ne testudine quidem protegi poterant, cùm tantæ molis onera propellerent Barbari. Regem non dolor modò, sed etiam pudor temerè in illas angustias conjecti exercitiis angebat. Invictus ante eam diem fuerat, nihil frustrâ ausus: impunè Ciliciæ fauces intraverat; ¹⁶ mari quoque novum iter in Pamphyliam aperuerat. Tunc ¹⁷ hæsitabat deprehensa felicitas; nec aliud remedium erat, quàm reverti ¹⁸ quâ venerat. Itaque signo receptui dato, densatis ordinibus, sentisque super capita consertis, retrò evadere Rex angustiiis jubet: triginta fuère stadia, quæ remensi sunt.

IV. 13. Tum castris undiquè aperto loco positis, non consultare modò quid agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere cœpit a superstitione animi. ¹ Sed quid tunc prædicere Aristander, cui tum plurimùm credebatur ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiis, peritos locorum convocari jubet. Per Mediam iter ostendebant tutum apertumque: sed Rex deserere milites insepultos crubescerebat, ità tradito more, ut vix ullum militiæ tam solemne esset munus, quam humandi suos. Captivos ergò, quos nuper exceperat, vocari jubet: inter quos erat quidam Græcæ Persicæque linguæ peritus, qui frustrâ eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere affirmat: sylvestres esse calles,

vix singulis pervios, omnia contegi frondibus, ²implexosque arborum ramos sylvas committere. Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium jugis clauditur, ³quod in longitudinem MDC stadia, in latitudinem CLXX procurrit. Hoc dorsum a Caucaso monte ad ⁴rubrum Mare pertinet: ⁵quàque deficit mons, aliud munimentum, fretum objectum est. Planities deindè sub radicibus montium spatiosa ⁶procumbit fertilis terra, multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. Araxes annis per hos campos multorum aquas torrentium evolvit in Medum. Medus ad mare, meridiem versùs, ⁷minor annis eo quem accepit, evehitur; gignendæque herbæ non alius est aptior, quidquid alluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ⁸ità ut procul visentibus continuata videantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus annis, presso in solum dilabitur alveo: imminentque colles, ipsi quoque frondibus læti, radices eorum humore subeunte. Regio ⁹non alia totà Asià salubrior habetur: temperat cælum hinc perpetuum jugum opacum et umbrosum, quod æstus levat; illine mare adjunctum, quod modico tepore terras fovet.

14. His captivus expositis interrogatus a Rege, auditum an oculis comperta haberet, quæ diceret: pastorem se fuisse, et omnes eos calles perecurrisse respondit; bis captum, semel a Persis in Lyciâ, iterum ab ipso. Subit animum memoria Regis oraculo editæ sortis. Quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viæ Lycium civem fore. ¹⁰Igitur promissis, quanta et præsens necessitas exigebat, et ipsius fortuna capiebat, oneratum, armari jubet Macedonum more: et, quod benè verteret, monstrare iter; quamvis arduum et præceps, evasurum se esse cum paucis: nisi fortè crederet, quò ipse pecoris causâ isset, Alexandrum pro gloriâ et perpetuâ laude ire non posse. Etiam atque etiam docere captivus, quàm difficile iter esset, maximè armatis. Tum Rex: "Prædem me," inquit, "accipe, neminem eorum qui sequuntur, recusaturum ire quâ duces." ¹¹Cratero igitur, ad custodiam castrorum relicto, cum peditibus quæ assueverat

et iis copiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis equitibus mille, præcipit, ut castrorum specie manente, plures de industriâ ignes fieri imperaret, quò magis Barbari crederent, ipsum Regem in castris esse. Cæterùm, si fortè Ariobarzanes cognovisset, per callium infractus ¹² cum intrare, et ad occupandum iter suum, partem copiarum tentasset opponere; Craterus, in cum ¹³ illato terrore, retineret ad propius periculum conversum agmen. Sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset, et saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium Barbarorum tumultum exaudisset ¹⁴ persequentium Regem, id ipsum iter, quo pridè pulsi fuerant, ne dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore, hostibus in semet aversis.

15. Ipse tertiâ vigiliâ, silenti agmine, ac ne tubâ quidem dato signo, pergit ad demonstratum iter callium. Tridui alimenta portare militem jusserat leviter armatum. Sed præter invias rupes, ac prærupta saxa, vestigium subindè fallentia, nix cumulata vento ingredienti fatigabat. Quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur, et cum a commilitonibus levarentur, trahebant magis adjuvantes, quàm sequebantur. Nox quoque, et ignota regio, ac dux, (incertum an satis fidus,) multiplicabant ¹⁵ metum, si custodes fefellisset, quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel animâ, pendere et Regis salutem et suam. Tandem venèrè in jugum. A dextrâ iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanem erat. Hic Philotam et Cœnon cum Amyntâ et Polysperconte, expeditam habentes manum, reliquit, monitos, "ut quia ¹⁶ eques pediti erat mixtus, et quâ pinguissimum esset solum, et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent." Duces erant itineris de captivis dati. Ipse cum armigeris, et alâ, quam *Agema* appellant, arduâ semitâ, sed longiùs a stationibus hostium remotâ, multâ cum vexatione processit. Medius erat dies, et fatigatis necessaria quies. Quippè tantumdem itineris supererat, quantum emensi erant, sed minùs præcipitis atque ardui. Itaque reffectis cibo somnoque militibus, ¹⁷ secundâ vigiliâ surgit, et cætera quidem haud ægrè præteriiit. Cæterùm, quâ se jugum montium paulatim ad planiora demittit, ¹⁸ in-

gens vorago, concursu cavata torrentium, iter ruperat. Ad hæc arborum rami alius alio implicati et cohærentes, ut perpetuam objecerant sepem. Desperatio igitur ingens, adeò ut vix lacrymis abstinere, incesserat. Præcipuè obscuritas terrori erat. Nam etiam, si quæ sidera ¹⁹internitebant, continenti fronde tectæ arbores conspiciere prohibebant. Ne aurium quidem usus supererat; sylvas quatiente vento, qui concutientibus ramis majorem quàm pro flatu sonum edebat.

16. Tandem expectata lux omnia, quæ terribiliora nox fecerat, minuit. Circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies, et sibi quisque dux itineris cœperat fieri. ²⁰Evadunt ergò in editum verticem, ex quo hostium statione conspectâ, strenuè armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale metuentibus, quorum pauci, qui congregari ausi erant, cæsi sunt. Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies, integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, in fugam avertit. Fremitu deindè in castra, queis Craterus præerat, illato, ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridè hæsitârat, miles educitur. Simul et Philotas cum Polysperconte, Amyntaque et Cæno, diversum iter ingredi jussus alium terrorem intulit Barbaris. Ergò undiquè Macedonum armis fulgentibus, ancipiti malo oppressi, memorabile tamen prælium edunt. Ut opinor, ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit; et sæpè desperatio spei causa est. Nudi complectebantur armatos, et ingenti corporum mole secum ad terram detrahentes, ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. Ariobarzanes tamen XL ferme equitibus et quinque millibus peditum stipatus, per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit; Persepolim urbem caput regionis occupare festinans. Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus, consecutis strenuè hostibus, cum omnibus fugæ comitibus renovato prælio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit.

V. 17. Rex eodem in loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communivit. Quanquam enim undiquè fugati hostes victoriam concesserant, tamen præaltæ præcipitesque fossæ, pluribus locis objectæ, abruperant iter, sensimque et cautè pro-

grediendum erat; jam non hostium, sed locorum fraude suspectâ. Procedenti ei litteræ redduntur a Tyridate custode regiae pecuniæ; ²indicantes eos, qui in urbe essent, audito ejus adventu, diripere velle thesauros; properaret occupare dimissos: ³expeditum iter esse, quanquam Araxes amnis interfluat. Nullam virtutem Regis istius magis, quàm celeritatem laudaverim: relictis enim pedestribus copiis, totâ nocte cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis, ad Araxem primâ luce pervenit. Vici erant in propinquo: quibus direptis ac dirutis, pontem ex materiâ eorum subditis saxis strenuè induxit. Jamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile agmen, ⁴inter pauca fortunæ exempla memorandum, Regi occurrit. Captivi erant Græci ad quatuor millia ferè, quos Persæ vario suppliciorum modo affecerant. Alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis, inustisque barbararum litterarum notis, in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant; et cum se quoque alienæ ditionis esse cernerent, volentes regi occurrere non prohibuerant. Inusitata simulacra, non homines videbantur, nec quidquam in illis præter vocem poterat agnoscî. Plures igitur lacrymas commovère, quàm profuderant ipsi: quippè in tam multiplici variâque fortunâ singulorum, ⁵intuentibus ⁶similes quidem, sed tamen disparēs pœnas, quis maximè miserabilis esset, liquere non poterat. Ut verò Jovem illi tandem Græciæ ultorem aperuisse oculos conclamavère, ⁷omnes pari supplicio affecti sibi videbantur. Rex, abstersis, quas profuderat lacrymis, bonum habere animum jubet; virosque suas, conjugesque: et castra indò duo ab urbe stadia communit.

18. Græci excesserant vallo, deliberaturi, quid potissimum a Rege peterent. Cumque aliis sedes in Asiâ rogare, aliis reverti domos placeret; Euthymon Cymæus itâ locutus ad eos fertur: ⁸“Nos qui modò ad opem petendam ex tenebris et carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra (quorum nos pudeat magis, an pœniteat, incertum est) ostentare Græciæ velut lætum spectaculum cupimus. At ii optimè misérias ferunt, qui abscondunt: nec ulla est tam ⁹familiaris

infelicibus patria, quàm solitudo, et statûs prioris oblivio. Nam qui multum in suorum misericordiâ ponunt, ignorant ¹⁰ quàm celeriter lacrymæ inarescant. Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est, et superba felicitas. Itâ suam quisque fortunam in consilium habet, cùm de alienâ deliberat: et ¹¹ nisi mutuò essemus miseri, olim alius alii potuissemus esse fastidio. Quid mirum est fortunatos semper parem quærere? Obsecro vos, olim vitâ defuncti quæramus locum, in quo hæc semesa membra obruamus, ubi horribiles cicatrices celet exilium. ¹² Grati prorsûs conjugibus, quas juvenes duximus, revertemur! Liberi in flore et ætatis et rerum, ut patres, agnoscent ergastuli ¹³ detrimenta? Et ¹⁴ quota pars nostri tot obire terras potest? procul Europâ in ultima Orientis relegati, senes, debiles, majore membrorum parte mulcati, tolerabimus scilicet quæ armatos et victores fatigaverunt? Conjuges deindè, quas captis sors et necessitas unicum solatium applicuit, parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum, an relinquimus? Cum his venientes nemo agnoscere volet. Relinquemus ergò extemplò præsentia pignora, cùm incertum sit an visuri simus ea quæ petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nôsse ceperunt."

19. Hæc Euthymon. Contrâ Theætetus Atheniensis orsus est dicere: "Neminem ¹⁵ pium habitu corporis suos æstimaturum; utique sævitiâ hostis non naturâ calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuita: tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam, et desperare misericordiam, quia ipse alteri denegaturus sit. Deos (quod ipsi nunquam ausi optare forent) offerre patriam, conjuges, liberos, et quicquid homines vel ¹⁶ vitâ æstimant, vel morte redimunt. ¹⁷ Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent: alium domi esse cæli haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, linguæ commercium etiam a Barbaris expeti, quæ ¹⁸ ingenita ipsi omissuri sint suâ sponte: non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quàm quòd illis carere coacti essent. Se certè rediturum ad penates et in patriam, tantoque beneficio Regis usurum. Si quos contubernii, liberorumque, quos servitus cõgisset agnoscere, amor detineret,

relinquerent, quibus nil patriâ carius est." Pauci hujus sententiæ fuere. Cæteros ²⁰ consuetudo, naturâ potentior, vicit. Consenserunt petendum esse a Rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem. Centum ad hoc lecti sunt; quos Alexander ratus, quod ipse præstare cogitabat, petituros: "Jumenta," inquit, "assignari, quæ vos veherent, et singulis vestrum mille denarium dari jussi. Cum redieritis in Græciam, ²¹ præstabo, ne quis statum suum, ²² si hæc calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem." Illi, obortis lacrymis, terram intuebantur, nec aut erigere vultus, aut loqui audebant. Tandem Rege tristitiæ causam exigente, Euthymou similia iis, quæ in consilio dixerat, respondit. Atque ille, non fortunæ solum eorum, sed etiam ²³ pœnitentiæ misertus, terna millia denarium singulis dari jussit. Denæ vestes adjectæ sunt, et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento data, ut coli serique attributus iis ager posset.

VI. 20. Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet, nullam infestiorē urbem Græcis esse, quàm regiam veterum Persidis Regum. Hinc illa immensa agmina ¹ infusa: hinc Darium prius, deindè Xerxem, Europæ impium intulisse bellum. Excidio illius parentandum esse majoribus. Jamque Barbari, deserto oppido, quâ quemque metus agebat, diffugerant; cùm Rex phalangem nil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbes refertas opulentiâ regiâ partim expugnârat, partim in fidem acceperat. Sed urbis hujus divitiæ ² vicere præterita. In hanc totius Persidis opes congesserant Barbari: aurum, argentumque cumulatum erat: vestis ingens modus: supellex, non ad usum modò, sed ad ostentationem luxûs comparata. Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro dimicabatur. Pro hoste erat qui pretiosiorē ³ occupaverat prædam. ⁴ Et cùm omnia quæ recipiebant, capere non possent, jam res non occupabantur, sed æstimabantur. Lacerabant regias vestes, ad se quisque partem trahentes: dolabris pretiosæ artis vasa cædebant: nihil neque intactum erat, nec integrum ferebatur. Abrupta simulacrorum membra, ut quisque avellerat, trahebat: neque avaritia solum, sed etiam

crudelitas in captâ urbe grassata est. Auro, argentoque onusti, vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, ⁶passimque obvii cædebantur, quos antea pretium sui miserabiles fecerat. Multi ergo hostium manus voluntariâ morte occupaverunt, pretiosissimâ vestium induti, e muris semetipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis in præceps jactantes. Quidam ignes, ⁶quod paulò post facturus hostis videbatur, subjecerant ædibus, ut cum suis vivi cremarentur. Tandem ⁷suis Rex corporibus, et cultu fœminarum abstinere jussit. Ingens pecuniæ captivæ modus traditur, propè ut fidem excedat. Cæterùm aut de aliis quoque dubitavimus, aut credemus in hujus urbis gazâ fuisse ⁸c et xx millia talentùm: ad quæ vehenda (namque ad usus belli secum portare decreverat) jumenta et camelos a Susis et Babylone contrahi jussit. Accessère ad hanc pecuniæ summam captis Persagadis sex millia talentùm. Cyrus Persagadam urbem condiderat, quam Alexandro Præfectus ejus Gobares tradidit.

21. Rex arcem Persepolis, tribus millibus Macedonum præsidio relictis, Nicarthiden tueri jubet. Tyridati quoque, qui gazam tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem apud Darium habuerat; magnaue exercitûs parte, et impedimentis ibi relictis, Parmenionem Craterumque præfecit. Ipse cum mille equitibus, peditumque expeditâ manu, interiorem Persidis regionem, sub ipsum ⁹Vergiliarum sidus petiit: multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus, procedere tamen, quò intenderat, perseveravit. Ventum erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, ¹⁰quas frigoris vis gelu adstrixerat. Locorum squalor et solitudines ¹¹juviæ fatigatum militem terrebant, humanarum rerum terminos se videre credentem. Omnia vasta, atque sine ullo humani cultûs vestigio, attoniti intuebantur: et ¹²antequam lux quoque et cælum ipsos deficerent, reverti jubebant. Rex castigare territos ¹³supersedit: cæterùm ipse equo desiliit, pedesque per nivem et concretam glaciem ingredi cœpit. Erubuerunt non sequi, primum amici, deindè copiarum duces, ad ultimum milites. Primusque Rex dolabrâ glaciem perfringens, iter sibi fecit.

Exemplum Regis cæteri imitati sunt. Tandem propemodùm invias sylvas emensi, humani cultûs rara vestigia, et passim errantes pecorum greges reperêre: et incolæ, qui sparsis tuguriis habitabant, eùm se callibus inviis septos esse credidissent, ut conspexêre hostium agmen, ¹⁴interfectis qui fugientes comitari non poterant, devios montes, et obsitos nivibus petiverunt. Indè per colloquia captivorum paulatim feritate mitigatâ, tradidêre se Regi. Nec in deditos gravius consultum. Vastatis deindè agris Persidis, vicisque compluribus reductis in potestatem, ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosissimam, et multùm a cæteris Persis cultu vitæ abhorrentem. Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque, ac conjuges, et liberos condunt. Pecorum aut ferarum carne vescuntur. ¹⁵Ne fœminis quidem pro naturæ habitu molliora ingenia sunt. Comæ prominent hirtæ, vestis super genua est. Fundâ vineiunt frontem: hoc et ornamentum capitis, et telum est. Sed hanc quoque gentem idem fortunæ impetus domuit. Itaque trigesimo die, postquam a Persepoli profectus erat, eodem rediit. Dona deindè amicis cæterisque pro cuiusque merito dedit. Propemodùm omnia, quæ in eâ urbe ceperat, distributa.

VII. 22. Cæterùm ingentia animi bona, illam indolem, quâ omnes Reges antecessit, illam in subeundis periculis constantiam, in rebus ¹moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem, in deditos fidem, in captivos clementiam, in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis temperantiam, haud tolerabili vini cupiditate fœdavit. ²Hoste et æmulo regni reparante tum eùm maximè bellum; nuper subactis, quos vicerat, novumque imperium aspernantibus; ³de die inibat convivia, quibus fœminæ intererant, non quidem quas violari nefas esset: quippe ⁴pellices, licentius quàm decebat cum armato vivere assuetæ. Ex his una ⁵Thais, et ipsa temulenta, maximam apud omnes Græcos initurum gratiam affirmat, si regiam Persarum jussisset incendi: expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes Barbari delèssent. Ebrio scorto de tantâ re ferenti sententiam, unus et alter, et ipsi mero onerati assentiuntur. Rex quoque

fuit ⁶avidior, quàm patientior: ⁷“Quin igitur ulciscimur Græciam, et urbi faces subdimus?” Omnes incaluerant mero. Itaque surgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati peperecerant. Primus Rex ignem regiæ iniecit. Tum convivæ et ministri, pellicesque. Multâ cedro ædificata erat regia, quæ celeriter igne concepto latè fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul ab urbe ⁸tendebat, conspexit, fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad vestibulum regiæ ventum est, vident Regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces. Omissâ igitur, quam portaverant, aquâ, aridam materiam in incendium jacere cœperunt.

23. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, undè tot gentes antea jura petebant: patria tot Regum, unicus quondam Græciæ terror, molita mille navium classem, et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata est; ⁹contabulato mari molibus, perfossisque montibus, in quorum specus fretum immissum est. Ac ne tam longâ quidem ætate, quæ excidium ejus secuta est, resurrexit. Alias urbes habuere Macedonum Reges, quas nunc habent Parthi: ¹⁰hujus vestigium non inveniretur, nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet. Haud procul mœnibus fluxerat: indè urbem fuisse xx stadiis distantem credunt magis, quàm sciunt aecolæ. Pudebat Macedones tam præclaram urbem a comesabundo Rege deletam esse. ¹¹Itaque res in serium versa est, et imperaverunt sibi, ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam. Ipsum, ut primum gravatam ebrietate mentem quies reddidit, pœnituisse constat, et dixisse, ¹²maiores pœnas Persas Græcis daturus fuisse, si ipsum in solio, regiæque Xerxis conspiciere coacti essent. Postero die, Lycio, itineris quo Persidem intraverat duci, trigenta talenta dono dedit. Hinc in regionem Mediæ transiit, ubi supplementum novorum militum e Ciliciâ occurrit. Peditum erant quinque millia, equites mille: utrisque Plato Atheniensis præerat. His copiis auctus, Darium persequi statuit.

VIII. 24. ¹Ille jam Ebatana pervenerat, caput Mediæ. Urbem hanc nunc tenent Parthi: eaque æstiva regibus sedes est. Adire deindè Bactra decreverat: sed veritus ne ²celer-

tate Alexandri occuparetur, consilium iterque mutavit. Aberat ab eo Alexander stadia MD, sed jam nullum intervallum adversus velocitatem ejus satis longum videbatur. Itaque prælio magis quàm fugæ se præparabat. Triginta millia peditum sequebantur: in quibus Græcorum erant quatuor millia, fide erga Regem ad ultimum invictâ. Funditorum quoque et sagittariorum manus quatuor millia expleverat. Præter hos tria millia et trecenti equites erant, maximè Bactrianorum. His Bessus præerat, Bactrianæ regionis Præfectus. Cum hoc agmine Darius paulum declinavit viâ militari, jussis præcedere lixis impedimentorum custodibus. Consilio deindè advocato, "Si me cum ignavis," inquit, "et pluris ³ qualemcumque vitam morte honestâ aestimantibus, fortuna junxisset, tacerem potius, quàm frustrâ verba consumerem. Sed majore quàm vellem documento, et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus, magis etiam conniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quàm dubitare an vestri similes adhuc sitis. Ex tot millibus, quæ sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti estis. Fides vestra, et constantia, ut Regem me esse credam, facit. Proditores et transfugæ in urbibus meis regnant, non herculè quia tanto honore digni habeantur, sed ut præmiis eorum vestri sollicitentur animi. Meam tamen fortunam quàm victoris maluistis sequi: dignissimi quibus, si ego non possim, Dii pro me gratiam referant: et meherculè referent. Nulla erit tam surda posteritas, nulla tam ingrata fama, quæ non in cælum vos debitis laudibus ferat. Itaque, etiamsi consilium fugæ, a quâ multum abhorret animus, agitâssem, vestrâ tamen virtute fretus, obviam issem hosti. Quousque enim in regno exulabo, et per fines imperii mei fugiam externum et advenam Regem, cum liceat ⁵ experto belli fortunam, aut reparare quæ amisi, aut honestâ morte defungi? nisi fortè satius est expectare victoris arbitrium, et Mazæi, et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius, ⁶ ut jam malit ille gloriæ suæ, quàm, iræ obsequi. Nec Dii siverint, ut ⁷ hoc decus mei capitis aut demere mihi quisquam, aut condonare ⁸ possit. Nec hoc imperium vivus amittam. idemque erit regni mei qui et spiritus

finis. Si hic ⁹ animus, si hæc lex, nulli non parata libertas est: nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur. Sua cuique dextra aut ultionem tot malorum pariet, aut finem. Equidem quàm versatilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum. ¹⁰ Nec immeritò mitiores vices ejus exspecto. Sed si justa ac pia bella Dii aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honestè mori. Per ego vos decora majorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tenuerunt; per illos viros, quibus stipendium Macedonia quondam tulit; per tot navium classes, in Græciam missas; per tot tropæa Regum, oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestrà gentisque dignos spiritus capiat, ut eâdem constantiâ animorum, quâ præterita tolerâstis, experiamini quidquid deindè sors tulerit. Me certè in perpetuum, aut victoria egregia nobilitabit, aut pugna."

IX. 25. Hæc dicente Dario, præsentis periculi species omnium simul corda **a**nimosque horrore perstrinxerat: nec aut consilium suppetebat, aut vox; cùm Artabazus vetustissimus amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi ¹ sæpè diximus, "Nos verò," inquit, "pretiosissimam vestem induti, armisque quanto maximo cultu possumus adornati, Regem in aciem sequemur. Eâ quidem mente, victoriam ut speremus, mortem non recusemus." Assensu excepère cæteri hanc vocem. Sed ² Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate initâ, Regem suum per milites, quibus ambo præerant, comprehendere et vincere decreverant; ³ eâ mente, ut si Alexander ipsos insecutus foret, tradito Rege vivo inirent gratiam victoris, ⁴ magni profectò cepisse Darium aestimaturi. Sin autem cum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dario, regnum sibi occuparent, bellumque renovarent. Hoc parricidium eûm diù volutâssent, Nabarzaues ⁵ aditum nefariæ spei præparans, "Scio me," inquit, "sententiam esse dicturum primâ specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam: sed medici quoque graviores morbos asperis remediis curant: et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, jacturâ, quidquid servari potest, redimit. Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo; sed ut te, ac

regnum tuum, salubri ratione conserves. Diis aversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit. Novis initiis et ominibus opus est. ⁸ Auspiciū et imperium alii trade interim, qui tam diu Rex appelletur, donec Asiā decedat hostis. Victor ⁷ deindē regnum tibi reddat: hoc autem brevi futurum ratio promittit. Bactra intacta sunt: Indi et Sacæ in tuā potestate; tot populi, tot exercitus, tot equitum peditumque millia ad renovandum bellum vires paratas habent, ut major belli ⁹ moles supersit, quā exhausta sit. Quid ruimus belluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium virorum est magis mortem contemnere, quā odisse vitam. Sæpē tædio laboris ¹⁰ ad vilitatem sui compelluntur ignavi: at virtus nihil inexpertum omittit. Itaque ultimum omnium mors est; ad quam non pigrē ire satis est. Proindē si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculum est, petimus, Præfectum regionis ejus Bessum, Regem ¹¹ temporis gratiā statuamus. Compositis rebus, ¹² justo Regi tibi ¹³ fiduciarium restituet imperium."

26. Haud mirum est, Darium non temperāsse animo, ¹⁴ quanquam tam impiæ voci quantum nefas subesset latebat. Itaque, ¹⁵ "Pessimum," inquit, "mancipium, reperisti optatum tibi tempus, quo parricidium aperires!" strictoque acinace interfecturus eum videbatur, ¹⁶ nī properē Bessus Bactria-nique, tristium specie, cæterū, si perseveraret, vincituri, circumstetissent. Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus consecutus, copias quibus præerant a cætero exercitu secedere jubent, secretum inituri consilium. Artabazus convenientem præsentī fortunæ sententiam orsus, mitigare Darium, ¹⁷ temporum identidem admonens cœpit: "Ferret æquo animo qualiumcunque, suorum tamen, vel stultitiam vel errorem. Instare Alexandrum ¹⁸ gravem, etiamsi omnes præstò essent: quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur?" ¹⁹ Ægre paruit Artabazo, et quanquam movere castra statuerat, turbatis tamen omnium animis, eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus mœstitiā simul et desperatione, tabernaculo se inclusit. Ergò in castris, quæ nullius regebantur imperio, varii animorum motus erant: nec in commune, ut antea, cou-

sulebatur. Dux Græcorum militum ¹⁹ Patron arma capere suos jubet, paratosque esse ad exsequendum imperium. Persæ secesserant. Bessus cum Bactrianis erat, tentabatque Persas abducere; Bactra, et intactæ regionis opulentiam, simulque, quæ manentibus instarent, pericula ostentans. Persarum omnium eadem ferè fuit vox, nefas esse descri Regem. Inter hæc Artabazus omnibus imperatoriisungebatur officiis. Ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universos, non antè destitit, quàm satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem ægrè a Dario impetravit, ²⁰ ut cibum caperet, animumque Regis.

X. 27. At Bessus et Nabarzanes, olim agitatum scelus exsequi statuunt, regni cupiditate accensi. Dario autem incolumi, tantas opes sperare non poterant. Quippè iu illis gentibus Regum ¹ eximia majestas est. Ad nomen quoque Barbari conveniunt, et pristinae veneratio fortunæ sequitur adversam. Inflabat impios animos regio cui præerant, armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda. Tertiam partem Asiæ tenet. Multitudo juniorum exercitus, quos amiserat Darius, æquabat. Itaque non illum modò, sed etiam Alexandrum spernebant; indè vires imperii repetituri, si ² regionis potiri contigisset. Diù omnibus cogitatis, placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinatos Regem comprehendere, mittique nuncium ad Alexandrum, qui indicaret vivum asservari eum; si, id quod timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset, ³ occisuri Darium, et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petitori. Cæterùm propalàm comprehendi Darius non poterat, tot Persarum millibus laturis opem Regi. Græcorum quoque fides timebatur. Itaque, quod non poterant vi, fraude assequi tentant. Pœnitentiam secessionis simulare deceverant, et excusare apud Regem ⁴ consternationem suam.

28 Interim qui Persas ⁵ sollicitarent, mittuntur. Hinc spe, hinc metu militares animos versant: "ruinæ rerum illos subdere capita; in perniciem trahi: cùm Bactra pateant, exceptura eos bonis et opulentia, quam animis concipere non pos-

sint." Hæc agitantibus Artabazus supervenit, sive Regis jussu, sive suâ sponte, affirmans mitigatum esse Darium, et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere apud Regem. Illi lacrymantes, nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam ipsorum tueretur, precesque perferret. Sic peractâ nocte, sub lucis ortu, Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo Prætorii aderat, ⁶ titulum solemnisi officii occulto scelere præferens. Darius, signo ad eundem dato, currum pristino more conscendit. Nabarzanes cæterique parricidæ, procumbentes humi, quem paulò post in vinculis habituri erant, ⁷ sustinere venerari; lacrymas etiam, pœnitentiæ indices, profuderunt: adeò humanis ingeniis parata simulatio est. ⁸ Preces deindè, suppliciter admotæ, Darium, naturâ simplicem et mitem, non credere modò quæ affirmabant, sed etiam flere coegerunt. Ac ne tum quidem cogitati sceleris pœnituit, cum intuerentur, qualem et Regem et virum fallerent. Ille quidem ⁹ securus periculi quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.

XI. 29. Patron autem Græcorum dux præcepit suis, ut arma quæ in sarcinis antea ferebantur induerent, ad omne imperium suum parati, et intenti. Ipse currum Regis sequebatur ¹ occasione imminens alloquendi cum; quippe Bessi facinus præsenſerat. Sed Bessus id ipsum metuens, custos veriùs quàm comes, a curru non recedebat. Diù ergò Patron cunctatus, ac ² sæpiùs sermone revocato, inter fidem timoremque hæsitans, Regem intuebatur. Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacem spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem percunctari jubet, num quid ipsi velit dicere? Patron se verò, sed remotis arbitris, loqui velle cum eo respondit. Jussusque propius accedere, sine interprete (nam haud rudis Græcæ linguæ Darius erat), "Rex," inquit, "ex quinquaginta millibus Græcorum supersumus pauci, omnes fortunæ tuæ comites: et in hoc tuo statu iidem, qui florente te fuimus, quascumque sedes elegeris, pro patriâ et domesticis rebus petaturi. Secundæ adversæque res tuæ copulavere nos tecum. Per hanc fidem invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum

statue; nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaris. Omisimus Græciam: nulla Bactra sunt nobis. Spes omnis in te, utinam et in cæteris esset! Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse ³ præstare."

30. Bessus quanquam erat Græci sermonis ignarus, tamen stimulante conscientia, indicium profectò Patronem detulisse credebat: et, ⁴ interpretis Græci relato sermone, exempta dubitatio est. Darius autem, quantum ex vultu conspici poterat, haud sanè territus, pereunctari Patrona causam consilii, quod afferret, cœpit. Ille non ultrà differendum ratus, "Bessus," inquit, "et Nabarzanes insidiantur tibi; ⁵ in ultimo discrimine es fortunæ et vitæ. Hic dies aut parricidis, aut tibi futurus ultimus." Et Patron quidem egregiam conservati Regis gloriam ⁶ tulerat. ⁷ Eludant licet quibus fortè temerè humana negotia volvi agique persuasum est: ⁸ equidem æternâ constitutione crediderim nexuque causarum latentium, et multò antè destinatarum, suum quemque ordinem immutabili lege percurrere. Darius certè respondit; "Quanquam sibi Græcorum militum fides nota sit, nunquàm tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse damnare, quàm decipi; quidquid sors tulisset, inter suos perpeti malle quàm transfugam fieri: serò se perire, si salvum esse sui milites nollent." Patron desperatâ salute Regis, ad eos, quibus præerat, rediit; omnia ⁹ pro fide experiri paratus.

XII. 31. At Bessus occidendi protinus Regis ¹ impetum conceperat. Sed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nî vivum eum tradidisset, inire non posset, dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio, agere gratias incipit, quod ² perfidi hominis insidias, jam Alexandri opes spectantis, prudenter cautèque vitasset: donum eum hosti laturum fuisse Regis caput; nec mirari, hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia; sine pignore, ³ sine lare, terrarum orbis exsulem, ⁴ ancipitem hostem, ⁵ ad nutum licentium circumferri. Purganti deindè se Deosque patrios testes fidei suæ invocanti, Darius vultu assentiebatur, haud dubius quin vera deferrentur a Græcis: sed ⁶ cò rerum

ventum erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis, quàm decipi. Triginta millia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas timebatur. Quatuor millia Patron habebat; quibus si ⁷ credidisset salutem suam, damnatâ popularium fide, parricidio ⁸ excusationem videbat offerri. Itaque præoptabat immeritò, quàm jure violari. Besso tamen insidiarum consilium purganti, respondit, "Alexandri sibi non minùs justitiam, quàm virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos qui proditionis ab eo præmium expectent. Violatæ fidei neminem ⁹ acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque." Jamque nox appetebat, cùm Persæ, more solito armis positis, ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt. At Bactriani (ut imperatum erat a Besso) ¹⁰ armati stabant.

32. Inter hæc Darius Artabazum acciri jubet; expositisque quæ Patron detulerat, "haud dubitare," ¹¹ Artabazus, "quin transeundum esset in castra Græcorum," [respondit,] "Persas quoque periculo vulgato secuturos." ¹² Destinatus sorti suæ, et jam nullius salubris consilii patiens, unicam in illâ fortunâ opem, Artabazum, ultimùm illum visurus, amplectitur; ¹³ profusisque mutuis lacrymis, inbærentem sibi avelli jubet: capite deindè velato ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, in humum pronum corpus abjecit. Tum verò custodiæ ejus assueti, quos Regis salutem ¹⁴ vel periculo vitæ tueri oportebat, dilapsi sunt, armatis quos jam adventare credebant haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergò in tabernaculo solitudo erat, paucis spadonibus, (quia quò discederent non habebant) circumstantibus Regem. At ille, remotis arbitris, diù aliud atque aliud consilium animo volubabat. Jamque solitudinem, quàm paulò antè pro solatio petiverat, perosus, Bubacem vocari jubet; quem intuens, "Ite," inquit, "consulite vobis; ad ultimum Regi vestro (ut decebat) fide exhibitâ. Ego hîc legem fati mei expecto. Forsitan mireris, quòd vitam non finiam: alieno scelere quàm meo mori malo." Post hanc vocem, spado gemitu non modò tabernaculum, sed etiam castra complevit. Irrupère

deindè alii, laceratisque vestibus, lugubri et barbaro ululatu Regem deplorare cœperunt.

33. Persæ, ad illos clamore perlato, attoniti metu, nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne ¹⁵ impiè deserere Regem viderentur. Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce, ac sine imperio, totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani nunciaverant sui, Regem a semetipso interemptum esse. Planctus eos deceperat. Itaque citatis equis advolant, sequentibus quos ad ministerium sceleris delegerant: et cùm tabernaculum intrâssent, ¹⁶ quia Regem vivere spadones indicabant, comprehendi, vincirique jusserunt. Rex curru paulò antè vectus, et Deorum ¹⁷ a suis honoribus cultus, ¹⁸ nullâ externâ ope admotâ, captivus servorum suorum, in sordidum vehiculum pellibus undiquè contectum imponitur. Pecunia Regis et supellex, quasi jure belli, diripitur: onustique prædâ per seclum ultimum partâ, fugam intendunt. Artabazus cum iis, qui imperio parebant, Græcisque militibus, Parthienem petebat; omnia tutiora parricidarum contuitu ratus. Persæ promissis Bessi onerati, maximè quia nemo alius erat quem sequerentur, conjunxère se Bactrianis; agmen eorum tertio assecuti die. Ne tamen honos Regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Darium vinciunt, nova ludibria subindè excoGITante fortunâ. Et ne fortè cultu regio posset agnosci, sordidis pellibus vehiculum intexerant. Ignoti jumenta agebant, ne percunctantibus in agmine monstrari posset. Custodes procul sequebantur.

XIII. 34. Alexander, ¹ audito Darium movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere quod patebat in Mediam, fugientem insequi pergit strenuè. Tabas oppidum est in Parætacene ultimâ: quò ubi pervenit, ibi transfugæ nunciant, præcipientem fugâ Bactra petere Darium. Certiora deindè cognoscit ex Bagysthane Babylonio; "non equidem vinetum Regem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis, aut vinculorum." Rex, ducibus convocatis, "Maximum," inquit, "opus, sed labor brevissimus superest. Darius haud procul, destitutus a suis, aut vinctus, aut oppressus, est. In illo corpore posita est victoria nostra, et tanta res

celeritatis est præmium." Omnes pariter conclamant, paratos ipsos sequi: nec labori, nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen, cursûs magis quàm itineris modo, ducit; ne nocturnâ quidem quiete diurnum laborem relaxante. Itaque quingenta stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum, in quo Darium Bessus comprehenderat. Ibi Melon Darii interpres excipitur: corpore æger, non potuerat agmen sequi: et comprehensus celeritate Regis, transfugam se esse simulabat. ²Ex hoc acta cognoscit: sed fatigatis necessaria quies erat. Itaque delectis equitum sex millibus trecentos, quos *Dimachas* appellabant, adjungit. ³Dorso hi graviora arma portabant: cæterum equis vehébantur; cùm res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erat. Hæc agentem Alexandrum adeunt Orsillos et Mythrænes, qui Bessi parricidium exosi transfugerant: nunciabantque, stadia quingenta abesse Persas: ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. Gratus Regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque primâ vesperâ, ducibus iisdem, cum expeditâ equitum manu monstratam viam ingreditur, phalange quantum festinare posset sequi jussâ. Ipse quadrato agmine incedens, ita cursum regebat, ⁴ut primi conjungi ultimis possent.

35. Trecenta stadia processerant, cùm occurrit Brocubelus Mazæi filius, Syriæ quondam Prætor. Is quoque transfuga nunciabat, "Bessum haud amplius quàm ducenta stadia abesse: exercitum, utpotè qui nihil præcaveret, inordinatumque procedere: Hyrcaniam videri petituos; si festinaret sequi, palantibus superventurum: Darium adhuc vivere." ⁵Strenuo alioqui cupiditatem consequendi transfuga injeccrat. Itaque calcaribus subditis, effuso cursu cunt. Jamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur: sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. Paulisper ergò inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. Jamque conspecti a Barbaris erant, et ⁶abeuntium agmen conspexerant, nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad prælium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat. Namque et Barbari numero præstabant, et robore. Ad hoc refecti cum fatigatis certamen inituri erant. Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, maximum in bello utique

momentum, pavidos in fugam avertit. Bessus verò et cæteri facinoris ejus participes, vehiculum Darii assecuti, cœperunt hortari eum, "conscenderet equum, et se hosti fugâ eriperet." Ille Deos ultores adesse testatur, et Alexandri ⁷ fidem implorans, negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum verò irâ quoque accensi, tela injiciunt in Regem, multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. Jumenta quoque, ne longiùs prosequi possent, convulnerant; duobus servis, qui Regem comitabantur occisis.

36. Hoc edito facinore, ut vestigia fugæ spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra, paucis equitum comitantibus, petebant. Barbari ducibus destituti, quâ quemque aut spes ducebat, aut pavor, dissipabantur. Quingenti tantùm equites congregaverant se, incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset, an fugere. Alexander, hostium trepidatione compertâ, Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendam fugam præmittit. Ipse cum cæteris sequitur: tria fermè millia resistentium occisa sunt: reliquum agmen more pecudum intactum agebatur, jubente Rege, ut cædibus abstineretur. Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstrare Darii vehiculum posset: singuli, ut quæque prehenderant, scrutabantur: nec tamen ullum vestigium fugæ Regis exstabat. Festinantem Alexandrum vix tria millia equitum persecuta sunt. At in eos qui lentiùs sequebantur incidebant universa fugientium agmina. Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi, quàm qui caperent erant: ⁸ adeò omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excuserat, ut nec hostium paucitatem, nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent. Interim jumenta quæ Darium vehiebant, nullo regente, decesserant militari viâ, et errore delata per quatuor stadia, in quâdam valle constiterant, æstu simulque vulneribus fatigata. Haud procul erat fons, ad quem monstratum a peritis Polystratus Macedo siti maceratus accessit. Ac dùm galeâ haustam aquam sorbet, tela jumentorum deficientium corporibus infixâ conspexit. Miratusque confossa potiùs, quàm abacta esse, ⁹ semivivi

[hominis corpus, cùm propius accessisset, in sordido vehiculo pellibus contacto situm reperit: atquo

Darium, multis quidem vulneribus confossum, adhuc tamen spirantem, esse cognovit. Qui applicito captivo, eum civem ex voce cognovisset, id saltem præsentis fortunæ solatium se habere dixit, quòd apud intellecturum locuturus esset, nec incassum postremas voces emissurus; næque Alexandro perferri jubet. Se nullis in eum meritorum officiis, maximorum autem illi debitorem mori. Agere tamen ei maximas gratias pro beneficiis in matrem, conjugem, liberosque suos impensis: iis enim vitam, et pristini statûs reverentiam, dignitatemque concessam: sibi autem a cognatis atque amicis, quibus et regna et vitam dederit, illa omnia erepta esse. Precari se, ut illi victori terrarum omnium imperium contingat. Ultionem sceleris erga se perpetrati, non solum suâ, sed exempli omniumque Regum causâ, non negligere, illi eum decorum, tum utile futurum. Jamque deficiens aquam poposeit; quam allatam postquam bibit, Polystrato, qui eam tulerat, "Quisquis es mortalium," inquit, "hoc mihi extremum universæ calamitatis genus accidit, ut pro tanto in me beneficio dignas tibi grates referre nequeam. At referet Alexander: Alexandro verò Dii pro ejus summâ in meos humanitate ac clementiâ. Cui hoc fidei regiæ unicum dextræ pignus pro me dabis." Hæc dicentem, acceptâ Polystrati manu, vita destituit. Quibus Alexandro nunciatis, ad corpus demortui perveniens, tam indignam illo fastigio mortem lacrymis prosecutus est. Demptâque sibi chlamyde, corpus illius contexit; atque regio ornatum cultu, ad matrem Si-ygambim, patrio regioque more sepeliendum, atque regiis majorum suorum tumulis inferendum, misit.]

LIBER VI.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Prælii inter Lacedæmonios atque Macedones descriptio, et pax ab Alexandro victore Græcis, qui eo absente defecerant, concessa.
2. Alexander bello invictus, otio et deliciis frangitur; unde rumor in castris, qui torpentem excitat.
3. Hortatoria Alexandri ad milites oratio, ut bellum in Asia inchoatum, persequantur et absolvant.
4. Zioberis miri fluminis descriptio. Alexander Nabarzani per litteras salutem querenti veniam pollicetur. Deindè mari Caspio et Hyrcaniæ proximus, quosdam Darii prefectos recipit in gratiam.
5. Artabazo, summâ cum animi benevolentia excepto, Græcis, qui Darium adjuve-

rant, parci Alexander, et Mardorum gente debellatâ, Amazonicæ ejnsdam Reginae petitioni satisfacit.

6. Macedones Alexandri offenduntur moribus, qui ut seditionem averteret, ad bellum Besso inferendum mentem convertit. Quod et stratagemate inchoat: ac Satibarzanem, quod defecisset, primum persequitur: Barbaros a montibus fortiter dispellit: Artacacnam expugnat.

7. Conjuratorem in Alexandrum Dymnus Nicomacho, hic per Cebalinum fratrem Alexandro detegit. Hinc mors Dymni qui ipse sibi manus infert.

8. Amicorum regionum consilio Philotas Parmenionis filius, conjurationis auctor et particeps creditus, capitur, ac velato capite in regiam abducitur.

9. De conjuratione, adversus Philotam expostulatoria Alexandri ad milites oratio, coram quibus Philotas adductus defensionem parat.

10. Apologetica Philotæ oratio, quâ conjurationis accensationem prolixè refellit.

11. Concio a quodam Belone accensa in Philotam surgit. Is paulò post, ut se cruciatibus liberaret, fictæ conjurationis circumstantias aperit cumque aliis qui accusantur a Nicomacho, saxis obruitur.

I. 1. [ALEXANDRO in Asiâ gravibus bellis occupato, plerique Græcorum occasionem circumspiciebant, quâ in libertatem se assererent: eam que invenisse credebant in Thraciæ tumultu, quem Memnon, præfectus militum, conceitaverat. Duces ceteris Laecædæmonii erant, qui, totâ Græciâ temporibus serviente, soli Macedonum dominationi restiterant. A Persis pecunia sperabatur ad ampliorem belli usum. Cùm ergo Antipater, quicquid militum habebat, in Thraciam duxisset, motum nuper exortum oppressurus, Peloponnesii, exceptis paucis, bello Macedonas invadunt, Agidi, Laecædæmoniorum regi, summam imperii deferentes. Quo audito, Antipater, utcumque potuit, res in Thraciâ componens, adversus Græcos proficiscitur, qui nescioquâ pugna confisi, Megalopolim obsidione cinxerant, et jam in eo erat, ut caperent oppidum, cùm Antipater ex Macedoniâ supervenit. Utrumque acriter pugnatur, et quamquam locus Macedonas, qui numero prævalebant, non capiebat, irruunt tamen, urgent, cedere cogunt. Quod ubi Agis conspexit, ut inclinatam suorum aciem firmaret, illico cum regiâ cohorte, quæ ex lectissimis constabat, se in medium]

¹ pugnae discrimen ² immisit: obtruncatisque qui promptius resistebant, magnam partem hostium propulit. Cœperant fugere victores, et, donec avidius sequentes in planum deduxere, multi cadebant. Sed ut primum locus in quo stare possent fuit, æquis viribus dimicatum est. Inter omnes tamen Lacedæmonios Rex eminebat, non armorum modò et corporis specie, sed etiam magnitudine animi, quo uno vinci non potuit. Undiquè, nunc cominus, nunc eminus petebatur, diuque arma circumferens, alia tela clypeo

excipiebat, ³ corpore alia vitabat, donec hastâ femora perfossa plurimo sanguine effuso, destituere pugnantem. Ergò clypeo suo exceptum armigeri raptim in castra referebant, jactationem vulnerum haud faciliè tolerantem.

2. Non tamen omisere Lacedaemonii pugnam; et ut primum sibi, quàm hosti ⁴ æquiores locum capere potuerunt, densatis ordinibus effusi, fluentem in se aciem excepere. ⁵ Non aliud discrimen vehementius fuisse memoriæ proditum est. Duarum nobilissimarum bello gentium exercitus pari Marte pugnabant. Lacedaemonii vetera, Macedones præsentia decora intuebantur. Illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnabant: Lacedaemoniis dux, Macedonibus locus deerat. Dici quoque unius tam multiplex casus, modò spem, modò metum utriusque partis augebat: velut de industriâ inter fortissimos viros certamen æquante fortunâ. Cæterum, angustiae loci, in quo ⁶ hæserat pugna, non patiebantur totis congregi viribus. Spectabant ergò plures, quam inierant prælium: et qui extra teli jactum erant, clamore invicem suos accendebant. Tandem Laconum acies languescere, lubrica arma sudore vix sustinens; pedem deindè referre cepit ac, urgente hoste, apertè fugere. Insequebatur dissipatos victor, et emensus cursu omne spatium, quod acies Laconum obtinuerat, ipsum Agim persequabatur. Ille, ut fugam suorum, et proximos hostium conspexit, deponi se jussit: expertusque membra, an impetum animi sequi possent, postquam deficere sensit, ⁷ poplitibus semet excepit: galeâque strenuè sumptâ, clypeo protegens corpus, hastam dextrâ vibrabat, ⁸ ultrò vocans hostem si quis jacenti spolia demere auderet. Nec quisquam fuit, qui sustineret cominùs congregi. Procul missilibus appetebatur, ea ipsa in hostem retorquens, donec lancea nudo pectori infixâ est: quâ ex vulnere evulsâ, inclinatum ac deficiens caput clypeo paulisper ⁹ excepit. Deindè, linquente spiritu, pariter ac sanguine, moribundus in arma procubuit.

3. Cecidere Lacedaemoniorum quinque millia et ccc: ex Macedonibus haud ampliùs mille. Cæterum vix quisquam

nisi saucius revertit in castra. Hæc victoria non Spartam modò sociosque ejus, sed etiam omnes qui fortunam belli spectaverant, fregit. Nec fallebat Antipatrum, ¹⁰ dissentire ab animis gratulantium vultus: sed bellum finire cupienti, opus erat decipi; et quanquam fortuna rerum placebat, invidiam tamen, quia majores res erant, quàm quas Præfecti modus caperet, metuebat; quippe Alexander hostes vinci voluerat, Antipatrum vicisse ¹¹ ne tacitus quidem indignabatur; suæ demptum gloriæ existimans, quicquid cessisset alienæ. Itaque Antipater qui probè nôsset spiritus ejus, non est ausus ipse ¹² agere arbitria victoriæ: sed concilium Græcorum, quid fieri placeret, consuluit. A quo Lacedæmonii, nihil aliud, quàm ut oratores ad Regem mittere liceret, Tegeatæ, veniam defectionis, præter auctores, impetraverunt. Megalopolitanis, quorum urbs erat obsessa a defectionis sociis, Achæi et Elei centum viginti talenta dare jussi sunt. Hic fuit exitus belli, quod repentè ortum, priùs tamen finitum est, quàm Darium Alexander apud Arbela superaret.

II. 4. Sed ut primùm instantibus curis laxatus est animus, militarium rerum quàm quietis otiique patientior, excepère cum voluptates: et quem arma Persarum non fregerant, vitia vicerunt. Intempestiva convivium, et perpotandi pervigilandique ¹ insana dulcedo, ludique et greges pellicum, ² omnia in externum lapsa morem: quem æmulatus quasi potioem suo, ità popularium animos oculosque pariter offendit, ut a plerisque amicorum pro hoste haberetur. Tenaces quippe disciplinæ suæ, solitosque parco ac parabili victu ad implenda naturæ desideria ³ defungi, in peregrina et devictarum gentium mala impulerat. Hinc sapiùs comparatæ in caput ejus insidiæ, secessio militum, et ⁴ liberior inter mutuas querelas dolor: ipsius deindè nunc ira, nunc suspiciones, quas excitabat inconsultus pavor, cæteraque his similia, quæ deindè dicentur. Igitur cùm intempestivis conviviis dies pariter noctesque consumeret, satietatem epularum ludis interpellabat, non contentus artificum quos e Græciâ excitaverat turbâ. Quippe captivæ jubebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et ab-

horrens ⁶ peregrinis auribus carmen. Inter quas unam Rex ipse conspexit mœstio rem quàm cæteras, et producentibus eam verecundè reluctantem. Excellens erat forma, et formam pudor honestabat. Dejectis in terram oculis, et quantum licebat, ore velato, suspicionem præbuit Regi nobiliorem esse, quàm ut inter convivales ludos deberet ostendi. Ergò interrogata quænam esset, “neptem se Ochi, qui nuper regnâsset in Persis, filio ejus genitam esse,” respondit; “uxorem Hystaspis fuisse.” Propinquus hic Darii fuerat; magni et ipse exercitûs Prætor. Adhuc in animo Regis tenues reliquiæ pristini moris hærebant. Itaque fortunam regiâ stirpe genitæ, et tam celebre nomen reveritus, non dimitti modò captivam sed etiam restitui ei suas opes jussit; virum quoque requiri, ut reperto conjugem redderet. Postero autem die præcepit Hephæstioni ut omnes captivos in regiam juberet adduci; ubi, singulorum nobilitate spectatâ, ⁶ secrevit a vulgo, quorum eminebat genus. Mille hi fuerunt, inter quos repertus est Oxyathres Darii frater, non illius fortunâ, quàm indole animi sui clarior. XXVI millia talentûm proximâ prædâ redacta erant: e quæis XII millia in congiarium militum absumpta sunt. Par huic pecuniæ summa custodum fraude substracta est. Oxydates erat nobilis Perses, qui, a Dario capitali supplicio destinatus, cohibebatur in vinculis. Huic liberato Satrapiam Mediæ attribuit; fratremque Darii recepit in cohortem amicorum, omni vetustæ claritatis honore servato.

5. Hinc in Parthienem perventum est, tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium, qui post Euphratem et Tigrim amnes siti, rubro mari terminantur. Scythæ regionem campestrem ac fertilem occupaverunt, ⁷ graves adhuc accolæ. Sedes habent et in Europâ, et in Asiâ. Qui super Bosphorum colunt, adscribuntur Asiæ. At qui in Europâ sunt, a lævo Thraciæ latere ad Borysthenem, atque inde ad Tanaim alium amnem, ⁸ rectâ plagâ attinent. Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit: nec dubitatur quin Scythæ qui Parthos condidère, non a Bosphoro, sed ex regione Europæ penetraverint. Urbs erat eâ tempestate clara *Hecatompylos*,

condita a Græcis. Ibi stativa Rex habuit, commeatibus undiquè advectis. Itaque rumor, otiosi militis vitium, sine auctore percrebuit, Regem contentum rebus quas gessisset, in Macedoniam protinùs redire statuisse. Discurrunt lymphatis similes in tabernacula, et itineri sarcinas aptant: signum datum crederes, ut vasa colligerent. Totis castris tumultus, hinc contubernales suos requirentium, hinc onerantium plaustra, perfertur ad Regem. Fecerant fidem rumori temerè vulgato Græci milites, redire jussi domos; quorum equitibus singulis denariorum sena millia dono dederat. Ipsis quoque finem militiæ adesse credebant. Haud secùs quàm par erat territus Alexander, qui Indos atque ⁹ ultima Orientis peragere statuisset, Præfectos copiarum in Prætorium contrahit, obortisque lacrymis, ex medio gloriæ spatio revocari se, victi magis quàm victoris fortunam in patriam relaturum, conquestus est: nec sibi ignaviam militum obstare sed Deorum invidiam, qui fortissimis viris subitum patriæ desiderium admovissent, paulò post in eandem cum majore laude famæque redituris. Tùm verò pro se quisque operam suam ¹⁰ offerre, difficiillima quæque poscere, polliceri militum quoque obsequium, si animos eorum leni et aptà oratione permulcere ¹¹ voluisset. Nunquàm infractos et abjectos recessisse, quoties ipsius alacritatem et tanti animi spiritus ¹² haurire potuissent. Ita se facturum esse respondit; illi modò vulgi aures præpararent sibi. Satisque omnibus, quæ ¹³ in rem videbantur esse, compositis, vocari ad concionem exercitum jussit, apud quem talem orationem habuit.

III. 6. "Magnitudinem rerum quas gessimus, milites, intuentibus vobis, minimè mirum est, et desiderium quietis, et satietatem gloriæ occurrere. Ut omittam Illyrios, Triballos, Bœotiam, Thraciam, Spartam, Achæos, Peloponnesum, quorum alia ¹ ductu meo, alia imperio auspicioque perdomui; ecce orsi bellum ad Hellespontum, Ionas, Æolidem, servitio Barbariæ impotentis exemimus. Cariam, Lydiam, Cappadociam, Phrygiam, Paphlagoniam, Pamphyliam, Pisidas, Ciliciam, Syriam, Phœniciam, Armeniam, Persidem, Medos, Par

thienen habemus in potestate. Plures Provincias complexus sum, quàm alii urbes ceperunt; et nescio an enumeranti mihi ²quædam ipsarum rerum multitudo subduxerit. Itaque, si crederem satis certam esse possessionem terrarum, quas tantâ velocitate domuimus, ego verò, milites, ad penates meos, ad parentem, sororesque, et cæteros cives, vel retinentibus vobis. crumperem, ³ut ibi potissimum partâ vobiscum laude e. gloriâ fruerer, ubi nos uberrima victoriæ præmia expectant liberorum, conjugum, parentumque lætitia, pax, quies, rerum per virtutem partarum secunda possessio.

“Sed in novo, et (si verum fateri volumus) precario imperio, ⁴adhuc jugum ejus rigidâ cervice subeuntibus Barbaris, tempore, milites, opus est, dum mitioribus ingeniis imbuantur, efferatos mollior consuetudo permulceat. Fruges quoque maturitatem statuto tempore expectant. Adcò etiam illa sensûs omnis expertia, tamen suâ lege mitescunt. Quid? creditis tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine assuetas, non sacris, non moribus, non commercio linguæ nobiscum coherentes, eodem prælio domitas esse quo victæ sunt? Vestris armis continentur, non suis moribus; et qui præsentibus metuunt, in absentia hostes erunt. Cum feris bestiis res est, quas captas et inclusas, quia ipsarum natura non ⁶potest, longior dies mitigat. Et adhuc sic ago, tanquàm omnia subacta sint armis, quæ fuerunt in ditione Darii. Hyrcaniam Nabarzanes occupavit. Bactra non solum possidet parricida Bessus, sed etiam ⁶minatur. Sogdiani, Dahæ, Massagetæ, Sacæ, Indi, ⁷sui juris sunt. Omnes hi, ⁸simul terga nostra viderint, sequentur. Illi enim ejusdem nationis sunt, nos alienigenæ et externi. Suis autem quique parent placidiùs, etiam cum is præest qui magis timeri potest. Proinde aut quæ cepimus omittenda sunt, aut quæ non habemus occupanda. Sicut in corporibus ægris, milites, nihil quod nociturum est medici relinquunt: sic nos, quidquid obstat imperio, recidamus. Parva sæpe scintilla contempta magnum excitavit incendium. Nil tutò in hoste despicitur: quem spreveris, valentiorum negligerentiâ facies. Ne Darius quidem hæreditarium Persa-

rum accepit imperium : sed in sedem Cyri beneficio Bagoæ castrati hominis admissus : ⁹ ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum.

“ Nos verò peccavimus, milites, si Darium ob hoc vicimus, ut servo ejus traderemus imperium, qui ¹⁰ ultimum ausus scelus, Regem suum, etiam ¹¹ externæ opis egentem, certè cui nos victores pepercissemus, quasi captivum in vinculis habuit ; ad ultimum, ne a nobis conservari posset, occidit. Hunc vos regnare patiemini ? quem equidem cruci affixum videre festino, omnibus Regibus gentibusque fidei, quam violavit, meritas pœnas solventem. At herculè, si mox eundem Græcorum urbes, aut Hellespontum vastare nunciatum erit vobis, quo dolore afficiemini, Bessum præmia vestræ occupasse victoriæ ? Tunc ad repetendas res festinabitis : tunc arma capietis. Quantò autem præstaret territum adhuc et vix mentis suæ compotem, opprimere ? Quatridui nobis iter superest, qui tot proculcavimus nives, tot amnes superavimus, tot montium juga transeurimus. Non mare illud, quod exæstuans iter fluctibus occupat, euntes nos moratur : non Ciliciæ fauces, et angustiae includunt. Plana omnia et prona sunt. In ipso limine victoriæ stamus. Pauci nobis fugitivi, et domini sui interfectores supersunt. ¹² Egregium meherculè opus, et inter prima gloriæ vestræ numerandum, posteritati famæque tradetis ; Darii quoque hostis, finito post mortem ejus odio, parricidas esse vos ultos ; neminem impium effugisse manus vestras. Hoc perpetrato, quantò creditis Persas obsequentiores fore, cùm intellexerint, vos pia bella suscipere, et Bessi secleri, non nomini suo irasci.”

IV. 7. Summâ militum alacritate, jubentium quodcumque vellet duceret, oratio excepta est. Nec Rex moratus impetum ; tertioque per Parthienem die ad fines Hyrcaniæ penetrat ; Cratero relicto cum iis copiis, quibus præerat, et eâ manu, quam Amyntas ducebat, additis sexcentis equitibus, et totidem sagittariis, ut ab incursione Barbarorum Parthienem tueretur. Erigyium impedimenta, modico præsidio dato, campestri itinere ducere jubet. Ipse cum phalange et

equitatu cl stadia emensus, castra in valle, quâ Hyrcaniam¹ adeunt, communit. Nemus præaltis densisque arboribus umbrosum est, pingue vallis solum rigantibus aquis, quæ ex petris eminentibus manant. Ex ipsis radicibus montium Zioberis amnis effunditur, qui tria ferè stadia in longitudinem² universus fluit: deindè saxo, quod alveolum interpellet, percussus, duo itinera³ velut dispensatis aquis aperit. ⁴Inde torrens, et saxorum per quæ incurrit asperitate violentior, terram præceps subit. Per ccc stadia conditus labitur, rursusque velut ex alto fonte conceptus editur et novum alveum intendit, priore sui parte spatiosior. Quippe in latitudinem xiii stadiorum diffunditur; rursusque angustioribus coërcitus ripis iter cogit: tandem in alterum amnem cadit, (*Rhidago* nomen est.) Incolæ affirmabant, quæcumque demissa essent in cavernam, quæ propior est fonti, rursus, ubi aliud os amnis aperit, existere. Itaque Alexander duos⁵ tauros, quâ subeunt aquæ terram, præcipitari jubet: ⁶quorum corpora, ubi rursus erumpit, expulsa vidère, qui missi erant, ut exciperent.

8. Quartum jam diem eodem loco quietem militi dederat, cùm litteras Nabarzanis, qui Darium cum Besso interceperat, accipit, quarum sententia hæc erat: "Se Dario non fuisse inimicum, imo etiam quæ credidisset utilia esse, suasisse: et quia fidele consilium Regi dedisset, propè occisum ab eo. ⁷Agitasse Darium, custodiam corporis sui contra jus fasque peregrino militi tradere, damnatâ popularium fide, quam per ducentos et triginta annos inviolatam Regibus suis præstitissent. Se in præcipiti et lubrico stantem, consilium a præsentī necessitate repetisse. Darium quoque, cùm occidisset Bagoam, hac excusatione satisfacisse popularibus, quòd insidiantem sibi interemisset. Nihil esse miseris mortalibus spiritu carius. Amore ejus⁸ ad ultima esse propulsum: sed ea magis esse secutum, quæ coëgisset necessitas, quàm quæ optasset. In communi calamitate suam quemque habere fortunam. Si venire se juberet, sine metu esse venturum. Non timere ne fidem datam tantus Rex violaret. Deos a Deo falli non solere. Cæ-

terùm, si, cui fidem daret, videretur indignus, multa exilia patere fugienti; patriam esse ubicumquè vir fortis sedem elegerit." Nec dubitavit Alexander fidem, quo Persæ modo accipiebant, dare, inviolatum, si venisset, fore. Quadrato tamen agmine et composito ibat: speculatores ⁹ subinde præmittens, qui explorarent loca. Levis armatura ducebat agmen: phalanx eam sequebatur: post pedites erant impedimenta. Et gens bellicosa, et naturâ situs difficilis aditu, curam Regis intenderat. Namque perpetua vallis jacet, usque ad mare Caspium patens. ¹⁰ Duo terræ ejus, veluti brachia, excurrunt: ¹¹ media flexu modico sinum faciunt, lunæ maximè similem, cum eminent cornua, nondum totum orbem sidere implente. Cercetæ, Mosyni et Chalybes, a lævâ sunt; ab alterâ parte Leucosyri, et Amazonum campi: ¹² et illos, quâ vergit ad Septentrionem, hos ad occasum conversa, prospectat.

9. Mare Caspium, dulcius cæteris, ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit, et pisces longè diversi ab aliis coloris. Quidam *Caspium*, quidam *Hyrcanum* appellant. Alii sunt, qui Mæotim Paludem in id cadere putent, et argumentum afferunt, aquam quòd dulcior sit, quàm cætera maria, infuso paludis humore mitescere. A Septentrione ingens in littus mare incumbit, longèque agit fluctus, ¹³ et magnâ parte exæstuans stagnat. Idem, alio cœli statu, recipit se in fretum, eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens, terram naturæ suæ reddit; et quidam credidère non Caspium mare esse, sed ex Indiâ in Hyrcaniam cadere; ¹⁴ ejus fastigium (ut suprâ dictum est) perpetuâ valle submittitur. Hinc Rex viginti stadia processit, semitâ propemodum inviâ, cui sylva imminabat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur; nullo tamen hoste obvio, penetravit, tandemque ad ulteriora perventum est. Præter alios commeatus, quorum tum copiâ regio abundabat, pomorum quoque ingens modus nascitur, et uberri-mum gignendis uvis solum est. Frequens arbor faciem quer-cûs habet, ejus folia multo melle tinguntur: sed nisi solis ortum incolæ ¹⁵ occupaverint, vel modico tepore succus extinguitur. Trigiinta hinc stadia processerat, cum Phrataphernes

ei occurrit, seque, et eos qui post Darii mortem profugerant, dedens; quibus benignè exceptis, ad oppidum Arvas pervenit. Hic ei Craterus et Erigyus occurrunt; Præfectum Tapyrorum gentis Phradatem adduxerant. Hic quoque in fidem receptus, multis exemplo fuit experiendi clementiam Regis. Satrapem deindè Hyreaniæ dedit Menapim. Exul hic, regnante Ocho, ad Philippum pervenerat. Tapyrorum quoque gentem Phradati reddidit.

V. 10. Jamque Rex ultima Hyreaniæ intraverat, cùm Artabazus, (quem Dario fidelissimum fuisse suprà diximus,) cum propinquis Darii, ac suis liberis, modicâque Græcorum militum manu, occurrit. Dextram venienti obtulit Rex: quippe et hospes Philippi fuerat, cùm, Ocho regnante, exularet; et hospitii pignora in Regem suum ad ultimum fides conservata vincebat. Comiter igitur exceptus, "Tu quidem," inquit, "Rex, perpetuâ felicitate floreas. Ego cæteris lætus, hoc uno torqueor, quòd præcipiti senectute diu frui tuâ bonitate non possim." Nonagesimum et quintum annum agebat. Novem juvenes, omnes eâdem matre geniti, patrem comitabantur. Hos Artabazus dextræ Regis admovit, precatus ut tamdiu viverent donèc utiles Alexandro essent. Rex pedibus iter plerumque faciebat. Tunc admoveri sibi et Artabazo equos jussit, ne, ipso ingrediente pedibus, senex equo vehi erubesceret. Deindè, ut castra sunt posita, Græcos quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet. At illi, nisi Lacedæmoniis quoque et Sinopensibus fides daretur, respondent, se quid agendum ipsis foret deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedæmoniorum missi ad Darium, quo victo, applicuerant se Græcis mercede apud Persas militantibus. Rex, omissis sponsionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos jussit, fortunam, quam ipse dedisset, habituros. Diu cunctantes, plerisque consilia variantibus, tandem venturos se pollicentur. At Democrates Atheniensis, qui maximè Macedonum opibus semper obstiterat, veniâ desperatâ, gladio se transfigit. Cæteri, sicut constituerant, ditioni Alexandri seipsos permittunt: mille et D milites erant. Præter hos, legati ad

Darium missi xc. ²In supplementum distributus miles; cæteri remissi domum, præter Lacedæmonios, quos tradi in custodiam jussit.

11. Mardorum erat gens confinis Hyrcaniæ, cultu vitæ aspera, et latrociniis assueta. Hæc sola nec legatos miserat, nec videbatur imperata factura. Itaque Rex indignatus, si una gens posset efficere ne invictus esset, impedimentis cum præsidio relictis, invictâ manu comitante procedit. Noctu iter fecerat, et primâ luce hostis in conspectu erat: tumultus magis quàm prælium fuit. Deturbati ex collibus quos occupaverant, Barbari profugiunt; proximique vici ab incolis deserti capiuntur. Interiora regionis ejus haud sanè adire sine magnâ vexatione exercitûs poterant. Juga montium præaltæ sylvæ rupesque inviæ sepiunt: ea quæ plana sunt, novo munimenti genere impedierant Barbari. Arbores densæ sunt ex industriâ consitæ, quarum teneros ³adhuc ramos manu flectunt, quos intortos rursûs inserunt terræ. Inde velut ex aliâ radice lætiores virent trunci. Hos, ⁴quâ natura fert, adolescere non sinunt; quippe alium alii quasi nexu conscrunt; ⁵qui ubi multâ fronde vestiti sunt, operiunt terram. Itaque occulti nexus ramorum, velut laquei, perpetuâ sepe iter claudunt. Una ratio erat, cædendo aperire saltum: sed hoc quoque magni operis. Crebri namque nodi duraverant stipites, et in se implicati arborum rami, suspensis circulis similes lento vine frustrabantur ictus. Incolæ autem ritu ferarum virgulta subire soliti, tum quoque intraverant saltum, occultisque telis hostem lacescebant.

12. Ille venantium modo, latibula scrutatus, plerosque confodit: ad ultimum circumire saltum milites jubet, ut si quâ pateret, irrumperent. Sed ignotis locis plerique oberrabant. Excepti sunt quidam, inter quos equus Regis, (*Bucephalum* vocabant) quem Alexander non eodem, quo cæteras pœcudes, animo aestimabat. ⁶Namque ille nec in dorso insidere suo patiebatur alium: et Regem, cùm vellet ascendere, sponte suâ genua submittens, excipiebat, credebaturque sentire quem veheret. Majore ergò quàm decebat irâ simul ac

dolore stimulatus, equum vestigari jubet, et per interpretem pronunciari, nî reddidissent, neminem esse victurum. Hâc denunciatione territi, cum cæteris donis equum adducunt. Sed ne sic quidem mitigatus, cædi sylvas jubet, aggestâque humo e montibus, planitiem ramis impeditam exaggerari. Jam aliquantulùm altitudinis opus creverat, cùm Barbari, ⁷desperato regionem quam occupaverant posse retineri, gentem suam dedidère. Rex, obsidibus acceptis, Phradati tradere eos jussit. Inde quinto die in stativa revertitur. Artabazum deindè, geminato honore, quem Darius habuerat ei, remittit domum. Jam ad urbem Hyrcaniæ, in quâ regia Darii fuit, ventum erat. Ibi Nabarzanes acceptâ fide occurrit, dona ingentia ferens. Inter quæ Bagoas erat specie singulari spado, atque in ipso flore pueritiæ : cui et Darius fuerat assuetus, et mox Alexander assuevit ; ejusque maximè precibus motus, Nabarzani ignovit.

13. Erat, ut suprâ dictum est, Hyrcaniæ finitima gens Amazonum, circa Thermodoonta amnem, Themiscyræ incolentium campos. Reginam habebant Thalestrim, omnibus inter Caucasum montem et Phasim amnem imperitantem. Hæc cupidine visendi Regis accensa, finibus regni sui excessit : et cùm haud procul abesset, præmisit indicantes venisse Reginam, adeundi ejus cognoscendique avidam. Protinùs factâ potestate veniendi, cæteris jussis subsistere, ccc fœminarum comitata processit. Atque ut primùm Rex in conspectu fuit, equo ipsa desiliit, duas lanceas dextrâ præferens. Vestis non toto Amazonum corpori obducitur : nam læva pars ⁸ ad pectus est nuda, cætera inde velantur ; nec tamen sinus vestis, quem nodo colligunt, infra genua descendit. Altera papilla intacta servatur, quâ muliebris sexus liberos alant : aduritur dextra, ut arcus faciliùs intendant, et tela vibrent. Interrito vultu Regem Thalestris intuebatur : ⁹ habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio est ; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximiâ specie donare natura dignata est. Cæterùm interrogata, num aliquid petere vellet ; haud dubitavit fateri, ad communicandos cum Rege liberos se ve-

nisse; dignam ex quâ ipse regni generaret hæredes. Fœminini ¹⁰ sexûs se ¹¹ retenturam, marem reddituram patri. Alexander, an cum ipso militare vellet, interrogat; et illa, causata sine custode regnum reliquisse, petere perseverabat ne se ¹² irritam spei pateretur abire. Acrior ad Venerem fœminæ cupido, quàm Regis, ut paucos dies subsisteret, perpulit. XIII dies in obsequium desiderii ejus absumpti sunt. Tum illa regnum suum, Rex Parthienem, petiverunt.

VI. 14. Hic verò palàm ¹ cupiditates suas solvit: continentiamque et moderationem, ² in altissimâ quâque fortunâ eminentia bona, in superbiam ac lasciviam vertit. Patrios mores disciplinamque Macedonum Regum salubriter temperatam, et ³ civilem habitum, velut leviora magnitudine suâ ducens, Persicæ regiæ par Decorum potentiæ fastigium æmulabatur. Jacere humi venerabundos ipsum pati cœpit, paulatimque ⁴ servilibus ministeriis tot victores gentium imbuere, et captivis pares facere expetebat. Itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo, quale Darius habuerat, capiti circumdedit, vestemque Persicam sumpsit: ne omen quidem veritus, quod a victoris insignibus in devicti transiret habitum. Et ille se quidem Persarum spolia gestare dicebat, sed cum illis quoque mores induerat: superbiamque habitûs animi insolentia sequebatur. Litteras quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris annuli gemmâ obsignabat: iis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darii annulus imprimebatur, ⁵ ut appareret, unum animum duorum non capere fortunam. Amicos verò et equites, unaque his principes militum, aspernantes quidem sed recusare non ausos, Persicis ornaverât vestibus.

15. Illic luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus, veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palàm aversabantur: otisque castris unus omnium sensus ac sermo erat, "plus amicum victoriâ, quàm bello quæsitum esse. ⁶ Tum maximè vincti ipsos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: ⁷ tantæ moræ pretium, domos quasi in captivo habitu reversuros: pudere jam suû: Regem, victis quàm victoribus similiorem, ex Macedoniâ imperatore Darii Satrapem factum." Ille non ignarus et prin-

cipes amicorum, et exercitum graviter offendi, gratiam liberalitate donisque reparare tentabat. Sed, opinor, liberis pretium servitutis ingratum est. Igitur, ne in seditionem res verteretur, otium interpellandum erat bello, ejus materia opportunè alebatur. Namque Bessus, veste regiâ sumptâ, Artaxerxem appellari se jusserat, Scythasque et cæteros Tanaïs accolæ contrahabat. Hæc Satibarzanes nunciabat; quem receptum in fidem, regioni quam antea obtinuerat præfecit. Et cum grave spoliis apparatuque luxuriæ agmen vix moveretur, suas primum, deinde totius exercitus sarcinas, exceptis admodum necessariis, conferri jussit in medium. Planities spatiosa erat, in quam vehicula onusta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis quid deinde esset imperaturus, jumenta jussit abduci, suisque primum sarcinis face subditâ, cæteras incendi præcepit. Flagrabant, exurentibus dominis, ⁸ quæ ut intacta ex urbibus hostium raperent, sæpe flammæ restrinxerant; nullo ⁹ sanguinis pretium audente deflere, cum regias opes idem ignis exureret. Brevis deinde oratio mitigavit dolorem; ¹⁰ habilesque militiæ, et ad omnia parati lætabantur sarcinarum potius, quam disciplinæ fecisse jacturam.

16. ¹¹ Igitur Bactrianam regionem petebant. Sed Nicenor Parmenionis filius, subitâ morte correptus, magno desiderio suî affecerat cunctos. Rex ante omnes mœstus, cupiebat quidem ¹² subsistere, funeri affuturus; sed penuria commæatum festinare cogebat. Itaque Philotas cum duobus millibus et DC relictus, ut justa fratri persolveret: ipse contendit ad Bessum. Iter facienti litteræ ei afferuntur a finitimis Satraparum, e quibus cognoscit, Bessum quidem hostili animo occurrere cum exercitu: cæterum Satibarzanem, quem Satrapiae Ariorum ipse præfecisset, defecisse ab eo. Itaque quanquam Besso immincebat, tamen ad Satibarzanem opprimendum ¹³ præverti optimum ratus, levem armaturam et equestres copias educit: totâque nocte strenuè facto itinere, improvisus hosti supervenit. Cujus cognito adventu, Satibarzanes cum duobus millibus equitum (nec enim plures subito contrahi poterant) Bactra perfugit: cæteri proximos

montes occupaverunt. Prærupta rupes erat, quâ spectat Occidentem. Eadem, quâ vergit ad Orientem, leniore submissa fastigio, multis arboribus obsita, perennem habet fontem, ex quo largæ aquæ manant. Circuitus ejus triginta et duo stadia comprehendit. In vertice herbidus campus: in hoc multitudinem imbellem considerare jubent. Ipsi, quâ rupes desierat, arborum truncos et saxa obmoliuntur. XIII millia armata erant.

17. In quorum obsidione Cratere relicto, ipse Satibarzanem sequi festinat. Et quia ¹⁴ longiùs eum abesse cognoverat, ad expugnandos eos qui edita montium occupaverant, redit. ¹⁵ Ac primò repurgari jubet, quicquid ingredi possent: deindè, ut occurrebant inviæ cotes, præruptæque rupes; irritus labor videbatur, obstante naturâ. Ille, ut erat ¹⁶ animi semper obluctantis difficultatibus, cùm et progredi arduum, et reverti periculosum esset, versabat se ad omnes cogitationes, aliud atque aliud (ita ut fieri solet, ubi prima quæque damnamus) subjiciente animo: hæsitanti, quod ratio non potuit, fortuna consilium subministravit. Vehemens Favonius erat, et multam materiam ceciderat miles, aditum per saxa molitus. Hæc vapore torrida inaruerat. Ergò aggerari alias arbores jubet, et ¹⁷ igni dare alimenta: celeriterque stipitibus cumulatis, fastigium montis æquatum est. Tunc undiquè ignis injectus cuncta comprehendit: flammam in ora hostium ventus ferebat: fumus ingens velut quâdam nube absconderat cælum. Sonabant incendio sylvæ, atque ea quoque, quæ non incenderat miles, concepto igne proxima quæque adurebant. Barbari suppliciorum ¹⁸ ultimum, ¹⁹ si quâ intermoreretur ignis, effugere tentabant: sed quâ flamma dederat locum, hostis obstabat. Variâ igitur clade consumpti sunt. Alii in medios ignes, alii in petras præcipitavère se: quidam manibus hostium se obtulerunt: pauci, semiustulati venère in potestatem.

18. Hinc ad Craterum, qui Artacaena obsidebat, rediit. Ille, omnibus præparatis, Regis exspectabat adventum, ²⁰ cap-tæ urbis titulo (sicut par erat) cedens. Igitur Alexander

turres admoveri jubet: ipsoque aspectu territi Barbari, o muris ²¹ supinas manus tendentes orare cœperunt, iram in Satibarzanem defectionis auctorem reservaret; supplicibus semet deditibus parceret. Rex, datâ veniâ, non obsidionem modò solvit, sed omnia sua incolis reddidit. Ab hâc urbe digresso, supplementum novorum militum occurrit. Zoilus quingentos milites ex Græciâ adduxerat: tria millia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat. Thessali equites centum et triginta cum Philippo erant. Ex Lydiâ duo millia et sexcenti, peregrinus miles, advenerant: trecenti equites gentis ejusdem sequebantur. Hâc manu adjectâ Drangas pervenit. Bellicosa natio est. Satrapes erat Barzaentes, ²² sceleris in Regem suum particeps Besso. Is suppliciorum, quæ meruerat, metu, profugit in Indiam.

VII. 19. Jam nonum diem stativa erant, cùm externâ vi non tutus modò Rex, sed invictus, intestino facinore petebatur. Dymnus modicæ apud Regem ¹ auctoritatis et gratiæ, exoleti, cui Nicomacho erat nomen, amore flagrabat, obsequio uni sibi dediti corporis vinetus. Is, quod ex vultu quoque perspicui poterat, similis attonito remotis arbitris cum juvene secessit in templum; arcana se et silenda afferre præfatus: suspensumque exspectatione, per mutuam caritatem et pignora utriusque animi rogat, ut affirmet jurejurando, quæ commisisset, silentio esse tecturum. Et ² ille ratus nihil, ³ quod etiam cum perjurio detegendum foret, indicaturum, per præsentem Deos jurat. Tum Dymnus aperit, in tertium diem insidias Regi comparatas, seque ejus consilii fortibus viris et illustribus esse ⁴ participem. Quibus juvenis auditis se verò fidem in parricidio dedisse ⁵ constanter abnuit, nec ullâ religione, ut scelus tegat, posse constringi. Dymnus et amore et metu amens, dextram exoleti complexus et lacrymans, orare, "primum ut particeps consilii operisque fieret: si id sustinere non posset, attamen ne proderet se, cujus erga ipsum benevolentia præter alia hoc quoque haberet fortissimum pignus, quòd caput suum permisisset fidei adhuc inexpertæ." Ad ultimum aversari scelus perseverantem metu mortis terret; " ⁶ ab illo capite

conjuratos pulcherrimum facinus inchoaturos.” ⁷ Aliàs deindè effœminatum et muliebriter timidum, aliàs proditorem amatoris appellans, nunc ingentia promittens, interdùmque regnum ⁸ quoque, ⁹ versabat animum ¹⁰ tanto facinore procul abhorrentem : strictum deindè gladium modò illius, modò suo admovens jugulo, supplex idem et infestus ¹¹ expressit, ut tandem non solùm silentium, sed etiam operam polliceretur; namque abundè constantis animi, et dignus qui pudicus esset, nihil ex pristinâ voluntate mutaverat: sed se captum Dymni amore, simulabat nihil recusare. Seiscitari deindè pergit, “ cum quibus tantæ rei societatem inisset. Plurimùm referre, quales viri tam memorabili operi admoturi manus essent.” Ille et amore et scelere malè sanus, simul gratias agit, simul gratulatur, quòd ¹² fortissimus juvenum non dubitasset se adjungere Demetrio corporis custodi, Peucolao, Nicanori. Adjicit his Aphœbetum, Loceum, Dioxenum, Archepolim et Amyntam.

20. Ab hoc sermone dimissus Nicomachus, ad fratrem (Cebalino erat nomen) quæ acceperat, defert. ¹³ Placet ipsum subsistere in tabernaculo, ne si regiam intrâset, non assuetus adire Regem, conjurati proditos se esse resciscerent. Ipse Cebalinus ante vestibulum regiæ (neque enim propiùs aditus ei patebat) consistit, opperiens aliquem ex primâ cohorte ¹⁴ amicorum, quo introduceretur ad Regem. Fortè cæteris dimissis, unus Philotas Parmenionis filius, ¹⁵ incertum quam ob causam, substiterat in regiâ. Huic Cebalinus, ore confuso magnæ perturbationis notas præ se ferens, aperit quæ ex fratre compererat, et sine cunctatione nunciari Regi jubet. Philotas, laudato eo, protinùs intrat ad Alexandrum; multoque invicem de aliis rebus consumpto sermone, nihil eorum quæ ex Cebalino cognoverat, nunciat. Sub vesperam eum prodeuntem in vestibulo regiæ excipit juvenis, “ an mandatum exsecutus ¹⁶ foret,” requirens. Ille, “ non vacasse sermoni suo Regem,” causatus, discessit. Postero die Cebalinus venienti in regiam præstò est: intrantemque admonet pridie communicatæ cum ipso rei. Ille curæ sibi esse respondet: ac ne tum quidem Regi, quæ audierat, aperit. Ceperat Cebalino esse suspectus. Itaque

non ultrà interpellandum ratus, nobili juveni (Metron erat ei nomen) supra armamentarium posito, quod scelus pararetur, indicat. Ille, Cebalino in armamentario absecondito, protinùs Regi corpus fortè euranti, quid ei index detulisset, ostendit.

21. Rex, ad comprehendendum Dymnum missis satellitibus, armamentarium intrat. Ibi Cebalinus gaudio elatus, "Habeo te," inquit, "incolumem ex impiorum manibus creptum." Perecunctatus deindè Alexander quæ noscenda erant, ordine cuncta cognoscit. Rursùsque institit quærere, quotus dies esset, ex quo Nicomachus ad eum detulisset indicium. Atque illo fatente jam tertium esse, existimans haud incorruptâ fide tantò post deferre quæ audierat, vinciri eum jussit. Ille clamitare cœpit, "eodem temporis momento quo audisset, ad Philotam decurrisse: ab eo perecunctaretur." Rex item quærens, "an Philotam adisset, ¹⁷an institisset ei, ut perveniret ad se;" perseverante eo affirmare quæ dixerat, manus ad cœlum tendens, manantibus lacrymis, hanc sibi a carissimo quondam amicorum relatum gratiam querebatur. Inter hæc Dymnus, haud ignarus, quam ob causam accerteretur à Rege, gladio quo fortè erat cinctus, graviter se vulnerat: occursuque satellitum inhibitus, perfertur in regiam. Quem intuens Rex: "Quod," inquit, "in te, Dymne, tantum cogitavi nefas, ut tibi Macedonum regno dignior Philotas me quoque ipso videretur?" Illum jam defecerat vox. Itaque edito gemitu, vultuque a conspectu Regis averso, subindè collapsus extinguitur.

22. Rex, Philotâ venire in regiam jusso, "Cebalinus," inquit, "ultimum supplicium meritus, si in caput meum præparatas insidias biduo texisset, hujus criminis reum Philotam substituit, ad quem protinùs indicium detulisse se affirmat. ¹⁸Quo propiore gradu amicitiae me contingis, hoc majus est dissimulationis tuæ facinus: et ego Cebalino magis quàm Philotæ id convenire fateor. Faventem habes judicem, si quod admitti non oportuit, saltem negari potest." Ad hæc Philotas, haud sanè trepidus, si animus vultu æstimaretur, "Cebalinum quidem scorti sermonem ad se de-

tulisse, sed ipsum tam levi auctori nihil credidisse," respondit: "veritum ne jurgium inter amatorem et exoletum, non sine risu aliorum, detulisset. Cùm Dymnus interemerit seipsum, qualiacumque erant, non fuisse reticenda:" complexusque Regem, orare cœpit, "ut præteritam vitam potiùs quàm culpam, silentii tamen, non facti ullius, intueretur." Haud faciliè dixerim, credideritne ei Rex, an altiùs iram suppresserit. Dextram reconciliatæ gratiæ pignus obtulit; et contemptum magis quàm celatum indicium esse, videri sibi dixit.

VIII. 23. Advocato tamen concilio amicorum, cui tum Philotas adhibitus non est, Nicomachum introduci jubet. Is eadem quæ detulerat ad Regem, ordine exposuit. ¹ Erat Craterus Regi carus in paucis, et cò Philotæ, ob æmulationem dignitatis, adversus. Neque ignorabat, sæpe Alexandri auribus nimia jactatione virtutis atque operæ gravem fuisse, et ob ea non quidem sceleris sed ² contumaciæ tamen suspectum. Non aliam premendi inimici occasionem aptiorem futuram ratus, ³ odio suo pietatis præferens speciem: "Utinam," inquit, "in principio ⁴ quoque hujus rei nobiscum deliberâsses: suasissemus, si Philotæ velles ignoscere, patereris potiùs ignorare eum, quantum deberet tibi, quàm usque ad mortis metum adductum, cogeres potiùs de periculo suo, quàm de tuo cogitare beneficio. Ille enim semper insidiari tibi poterit: tu non semper Philotæ poteris ignoscere. ⁵ Nee est, quòd existimes, eum qui tantum facinus ausus est, venià posse mutari. Seit eos, qui ⁶ misericordiam consumpserunt, ampliùs sperare non posse. At ego, etiam si ipse, vel pœnitentiâ, vel beneficio tuo victus, quiescere volet, patrem ejus Parmenionem, tanti ducem exercitûs, et ⁷ inveteratâ apud milites tuos auctoritate, haud multùm infra magnitudinis tuæ fastigium positum, scio non æquo animo salutem filii sui debiturum tibi. Quædam beneficia odimus. Meruisse mortem confiteri ⁸ pudet. Superest, ut malit videri injuriam accepisse, quàm vitam. Proindè scito, tibi cum illis de salute esse pugnandum. Satis hostium superest, ad quos persequendos ituri sumus. Latus a domes-

ticis hostibus muni. Hos si submoves, nihil metuo ab externo."

24. Hæc Craterus. Nec cæteri dubitabant, "quin conjurationis indicium ⁹ suppressurus non fuisset, nisi auctor aut particeps. ¹⁰ Quem enim pium, et bonæ mentis, non amicum modò, sed ex ultimâ plebe, auditis quæ ad eum delata erant, non protinùs ad Regem fuisse cursurum? ¹¹ Ne Cebalini quidem exemplo, qui ex fratre comperta ipsi nunciâsset, Parmenionis filium, Præfectum equitatûs, omnium arcanorum Regis arbitrum; simulâsse etiam non vacâsse sermoni suo Regem, ne index alium internuncium quæreretur. Nicomachum religione quoque Deûm adstrictum, ¹² conscientiam suam exonerare properâsse: Philotam, consumpto per ludum jocumque penè toto die, gravatum esse pauca verba, ad caput Regis pertinentia, tam longo et forsitan supervacuo inserere sermoni. ¹³ At enim non credidisse talia deferentibus pueris! cur igitur ¹⁴ extraxisset biduum, tanquam indicio haberet fidem? Dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem ejus damnabat. In suo quemque periculo magnum animum habere: cùm de salute Regis timeretur, credulos esse debere; vana quoque deferentes admittere." Omnes igitur quæstionem de eo, ut participes seeleris indicare cogeretur, habendam esse decernunt. Rex admonitos, ut consilium silentio premerent, dimittit. Pronunciari deindè iter in posterum diem jubet, ne qua novi initi consilii daretur nota. Invitatus est etiam Philotas ad ultimas ipsi epulas: et rex non cœnare modò, sed etiam familiariter colloqui cum eo quem damnaverat, sustinuit. Secundâ deindè vigiliâ, luminibus extinctis, cum paucis in regiam cœunt Hephæstion, et Craterus, et Cœnus, et Erigyius. Hi ex ¹⁵ amicis. Ex armigeris autem, Perdiceas, et Leonatus. Per hos imperatum, ut qui Prætorium exeubabant, armati vigilarent.

25. Jam ad omnes aditus dispositi milites; equites quoque itinera obsidere jussi, ne quis ad Parmenionem qui tum Mediæ, magnisque copiis præerat, occultus evaderet. Attaras autem cum trecentis armatis intraverat regiam. Huic decem

satellites traduntur, quorum singulos deni armigeri sequebantur. Ii ad alios conjuratos comprehendendos distributi sunt. Attaras cum trecentis ad Philotam missus, clausum aditum domûs moliebatur, quinquaginta juvenum promptissimis stipatus. Nam cæteros cingere undiquè domum jusserat, ne occulto aditu Philotas posset elabi. Illum, sive securitate animi, sive fatigatione resolutum, somnus oppresserat: quem Attaras torpentem ¹⁶ adhuc occupat. Tandem ei, sopore discusso, cum injicerentur catenæ, "Vicit," inquit, "bonitatem tuam, Rex, inimicorum meorum acerbitas." Nec plura locutum, capite velato, in regiam adducunt. Postero die Rex edixit, omnes armati coirent. Sex millia ferè militum venerant: prætereà turba lixarum calonumque impleverant regiam. Philotam armigeri agmine suo tegebant, ne antè conspici posset a vulgo quàm Rex allocutus milites esset. ¹⁷ De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus. In pace ¹⁸ erat vulgi. Nihil potestas Regum valebat, nisi priùs valuisset ¹⁹ auctoritas. Igitur primùm Dymni cadaver infertur, plerisque quid parâsset, quove casu extinctus esset, ignaris.

IX. 26. Rex deindè in concionem procedit, vultu præferens dolorem animi. Amicorum quoque mœstitia expectationem haud parvam rei fecerat. Diù Rex, demisso in terram vultu, attonito stupentique similis stetit. Tandem recepto animo, "Penè," inquit, "milites, paucorum hominum scelere vobis creptus sum. Deûm ¹ providentiâ et misericordiâ vivo: conspectusque vester ² venerabilis cogit, ut vehementiùs paricidis irasceam, quoniam supremus, imò unus vitæ meæ fructus est, tot fortissimis viris et de me optimè meritis referre adhuc gratiam posse." Interrupit orationem militum gemitus, abortæque sunt omnibus lacrymæ. Tum Rex: "Quantò," inquit, "majorem in animis vestris motum excitabo, cùm tanti sceleris auctores ostendero, quorum mentionem adhuc reformido, et tanquàm salvi esse possint, nominibus abstineo! sed vincenda est memoria pristinae caritatis, et conjuratio impiorum civium detegenda. Quomodò ² autem tantum nefas

silcam? Parmenio, ⁴ illâ ætate, tot meis, tot parentis mei meritis devinctus, omnium nobis amicorum vetustissimus, ducem se tanto scelere præbuit. Minister ejus Philotas, Peucolaum, et Demetrium et hunc Dymnum, ejus corpus aspicitis, cæterosque ejusdem amentiae, in caput meum subornavit." Fremitus undiquè indignantium ⁵ querentiumque totâ concione obstrepebat, qualis solet esse multitudinis, et maximè militaris, ubi aut studio agitur, aut irâ. Nicomachus deindè, et Metron et Cebalinus producti, quæ quisque detulerat exponunt: nullius eorum indicio Philotas particeps sceleris destinabatur. Itaque indignatione pressâ, vox indicum silentio excepta est. Tum Rex: "Qualis," inquit, "ergò animi vobis videtur, qui hujus rei delatum indicium ad ipsum suppressit? Quod non fuisse vanum, Dymni exitus declarat. Incertam rem deferens tormenta non timuit Cebalinus: Metron ne momentum quidem temporis distulit ⁶ exonerare se, ut eò ubi lavabar irrumperet. Philotas solus nihil timuit, nihil credidit. O magni animi virum! ⁷ Iste, si Regis periculo commoveretur, vultum non mutaret! indicem tantæ rei sollicitus non audiret! Subest nimirum silentio facinus; et avida spes regni præcipitem animum ad ultimum nefas impulit. Pater Mediæ præest. Ipse, apud multos copiarum duces meis præpotens viribus, majora, ⁸ quàm capit sperat. ⁹ Orbitas quoque mea, quòd sine liberis sum, spernitur. Sed errat Philotas. In vobis liberos, parentes, consanguineos habeo; vobis salvis, orbus esse non possum."

27. Epistolam deindè Parmenionis interceptam, quam ad filios Nicanorem et Philotam scripserat, recitat, haud sanè indicium gravioris consilii præferentem. Namque summa ejus hæc erat: "Primum vestri curam agite, deindè vestrorum: sic enim, quæ destinavimus, efficiemus." Adjecitque Rex, sic esse scriptam, ut, sive ad filios pervenisset, a consciis posset intelligi, sive intercepta esset, falleret ignaros. "At enim Dymnus, cùm cæteros participes sceleris indicaret, Philotam non nominavit. Hoc quidem illius non innocentiae sed potentiae indicium est, quòd sic ab iis timetur,

etiam a quibus prodi potest, ut cùm de se fateantur, illum tamen celent. Cæterùm Philotam ipsius indicat vita. Hic Amyntæ, qui mihi consobrinus fuit, et in Macedoniâ capiti meo impias comparavit insidias, socium se et conscium adjunxit. Hic Attalo, quo graviolem inimicum non habui, sororem suam in matrimonium dedit. Hic, cùm scripsissem ei, pro jure tam familiaris usûs atque amicitia, qualis sors edita esset, Jovis Hammonis oraculo, sustinuit scribere mihi, se quidem gratulari, quòd in numerum Deorum receptus essem, cæterùm misereri eorum quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui modum hominis excederet. Hæc sunt etiam animi, pridem alienati a me, et invidentis gloriæ meæ, indicia: quæ equidem, milites, quàm diù licuit, in animo meo pressi. Videbar enim mihi partem ¹⁰viscerum meorum abrumpere, si, in quos tam magna contuleram, ¹¹viliores mihi facerem. Sed jam non verba puniendæ sunt; linguæ temeritas pervenit ad gladios. Hos (si mihi creditis) Philotas in me acuit. Id si ipse admisit, quò me conferam, milites? cui caput meum credam? Equitatus, optimæ exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimæ juventutis unum præfeci: salutem, spem, victoriam meam, fidei ejus tutelæque commisi: patrem in idem fastigium, in quo me ipsi posuistis, admovi. Mediæ, quâ nulla opulentior regio est, et tot civium sociorumque millia, imperio ejus ditionique subjeci. Undè præsidium petieram, periculum exstitit. Quàm feliciter in acie occidissem; potiùs hostis præda, quàm civis victima! Nunc servatus ex periculis, quæ sola timui, in hæc incidere, quæ timere non debui. Soletis identidem a me, milites, petere, ut salutem meam parcam. Ipsi mihi præstare potestis, quod suadetis ut faciam. Ad vestras manus, ad vestra arma confugio: invitis vobis salvus esse nolo: volentibus, ¹²non possum, nisi vindicor."

28. Tum Philotam, religatis post tergum manibus, obsoleto amiculo velatum, jussit induci. Facile apparebat motos esse tam miserabili habitu, non sine invidia paulò antè ¹³conspicui. Duem equitatus pridè viderant, sciebant Regis interfuisse

convivio : repentè non reum modò, sed etiam damnatum, imò vinctum intuebantur. Subibat animos Parmenionis quoque, tanti ducis, tam elari civis, fortuna, qui, modò duobus filiis, Hectorè et Nianore, orbatus, ¹⁴ cum eo, quem reliquum calamitas fecerat, absens diceret causam. Itaque Amyntas Regis Prætor, inclinantem ad misericordiam concionem rursùs asperâ in Philotam oratione commovit : “ Proditos eos esse Barbaris : neminem ad conjugem suam, neminem in patriam et ad parentes fuisse rediturum : velut truncum corpus, dempto capite, sine spiritu, sine nomine, in alienâ terrâ ludibrium hostis futuros.”

¹⁵ Haudquaquam pro spe ipsius, Amyntæ oratio grata Regi fuit, quòd conjugum, quòd patriæ admonitos, pigriores ad cætera munia exsequenda fecisset. Tunc Cœnus, quanquam Philotæ sororem matrimonio secum conjunxerat ; tamen acriùs quàm quisquam in Philotam invectus est, “ ¹⁶ parricidam esse Regis, patriæ, exercitùs,” clamitans : saxumque, quod fortè ante pedes jacebat, arripuit, emissurus in eum ; ut plerique credidère, tormentis subtrahere cupiens : sed Rex manum ejus inhibuit, “ dicendæ priùs causæ debere fieri potestatem reo, nec aliter judicari passurum se,” affirmans. Tum dicere rursùs permissus Philotas, sive conscientia secleris, sive periculi magnitudine amens et attonitus, non attollere oculos, non hiscere audebat. Lacrymis deindè manantibus, linquente animo, in eum a quo tenebatur, incubuit : abstersisque amiculo ejus oculis, paulatim recipiens spiritum ac vocem, dicturus videbatur. Jamque Rex intuens eum, “ Macedones,” inquit, “ de te judicaturi sunt : quæro, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usurus ? ” Tum Philotas : “ Præter Macedonas,” inquit, “ plerique adsum, quos faciliùs, quæ dicam, percepturos arbitror, si eâdem lingua fuero usus, quâ tu egisti : non ob aliud, credo, quàm ut oratio tua intelligi posset a pluribus.” Tum Rex : “ ¹⁷ Ecquid videtis ¹⁸ odio etiam sermonis patrii Philotam teneri ? Solus quippe fastidit eum dicere. Sed dicat sanè, uteumque cordi est, dùm memineritis, æquè illum a nostro more atque sermone abhorrere.” Atque ¹⁹ ita concione excessit.

X. 29. Tum Philotas : “ Verba,” inquit, “ innocenti re-

perire facile est, modum verborum misero tenere difficile. Itaque inter optimam conscientiam et iniquissimam fortunam ¹ destitutus, ignoro quomodò et animo meo et tempori paream. Abest quidem optimus causæ meæ iudex : qui cur me ipse audire noluerit, non meherecule excogito, cùm illi utique, cognitâ causâ, tam damnare me liceat, quàm absolvere. Non cognitâ verò liberari ab absente non possum, qui a præsente damnatus sum. Sed quanquam vincti hominis non supervacua solum sed etiam invisâ defensio est, quæ iudicem non docere videtur, sed arguere ; tamen, utcumque licet me dicere, memet ipse non deseram : nec committam ut damnatus etiam meâ sententiâ videar.”

“ Equidem ejus criminis reus sim non video. Inter conjuratos nemo me nominat. De me Nicomachus nihil dixit. Cebalinus plus quàm audierat scire non potuit. Atqui conjurationis caput me fuisse credit Rex. Potuit ergò Dymnus cum præterire, quem sequebatur ? ² præsertim cùm quærenti socios vel falsò fuerim nominandus, quò faciliùs qui tentabatur, posset impelli. ³ Non enim detecto facinore nomen meum præteriit, ut posset videri socio pepercisse ; sed Nicomacho, quem taciturnum arcana de semetipso credebat, confessus, aliis nominatis, me unum subtrahebat. Quæso, commilitones, si Cebalinus me non adisset, nihil me de conjuratis scire voluisset ; num hodiè dicerem causam nullo me nominante ? ⁴ Dymnus sanè et vivat adhuc, et velit mihi parere : quid cæteri ? qui de se confitebantur me videlicet subtrahent ? Maligna est calamitas ; et ferè noxius, cùm suo supplicio eruciatur, acquiescit alieno. Tot conscii, ne in equuleum quidem impositi, verum fatebuntur ? Atqui nemo pareit morituro, nec cuiquam moriturus, ut opinor.”

“ Ad verum crimen, et ⁵ ad unum revertendum mihi est. Cur rem delatam ad te tacuisti ? cur tam securus audisti ? Hoc quaecumque est, confesso mihi, ubicumquè es, Alexander, remisisti : dextram tuam amplexus, reconciliati pignus animi, convivio quoque interfui. Si credidisti mihi, absolutus sum : si pepercisti, ⁶ dimissus. ⁷ Vel judicium tuum serva. Quid

hâc proximâ nocte, quâ digressus sum a mensâ tuâ feci? quod novum facinus delatum ad te mutavit animum tuum? Gravi sopore acquiescebam, cùm me ⁸ malis indormientem meis, inimici vinciendo excitârunt. Undè et parricidæ et preditori tam alti quies somni? ⁹ scelerati conscientiâ obstrepente cùm dormire non possint, agitant eos furia, non consummato modò, sed et cogitato parricidio. At mihi securitatem primùm innocentia mea, deindè dextera tua obtulerant. Non timui ne plus alienæ crudelitati apud te liceret, quàm elementia tuæ.”

“Sed ne te mihi credidisse poeniteat; res ad me deferbatur a puero, qui non testem, non pignus indicii exhibere poterat, ¹⁰ impleturus omnes metu, si cœpisset audiri. Amatoris et scorti jurgio interponi aures meas credidi infelix; et fidem ejus suspectam habui, quòd non ipse deferret, sed fratrem potiùs subornaret. Timui ne negaret mandâsse se Cebalino, et ego viderer multis amicorum Regis fuisse periculi causa. Sic quoque, cùm læserim neminem, ¹¹ inveni, qui mallent perire me, quàm incolumem esse. Quid inimicitiarum creditis excepturum fuisse, ¹² si insontes lacessissem? ¹³ At enim Dymnus se occidit. Num igitur facturum eum divinare potui? Minimè. Ità quod solum indicio fidem fecit, id me, cùm a Cebalino interpellatus sum, movere non poterat. At herculè si ¹⁴ conscius Dymno tanti sceleris fuisset, biduo illo proditos esse nos dissimulare non debui. Cebalinus ipse ¹⁵ tolli de medio nulloque negotio potuit. Denique, post delatum indicium quo periturus eram, cubiculum Regis solus intravi, ferro quidem cinctus. Cur distuli facinus? An sine Dymno non sum ausus? Ille igitur princeps conjurationis fuit: sub illius umbrâ Philotas latebam, qui regnum Macedonum affecto. Equis e vobis corruptus est donis? quem Ducem, quem Præfectum impensiùs colui?”

“Mihi quidem objicitur, quòd societatem patrii sermonis asperner; quòd Macedonum mores fastidiam. ¹⁶ Sic ergò imperio, quod dedignor, imminco? Jam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit: tam victoribus, quàm vietis, peregrina lingua discenda est. Non melhereule ista me

magis lædunt, ¹⁷ quàm quòd Amyntas Perdiccæ filius insidiatus est Regi : cum quo quòd amicitia fuerit mihi, non recuso defendere, si ¹⁸ fratrem Regis non oportuit diligi a nobis. Sin autem in illo fortunæ gradu positum ¹⁹ etiam venerari necesse erat, utrùm, quæso, quòd non divinavi, reus sum ? An impiorum amicis insontibus quoque moriendum est ? ²⁰ Quod si æquum est, cur tam diù vivo ? si injustum, cur nunc demum occidor ? ”

“ ²¹ At enim scripsi, misereri me eorum, quibus vivendum esset sub eo, qui se Jovis filium crederet. ²² Fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas, vos me decepistis ! vos, quæ sentiebam, ne reticerem, impulistis ! Scripsisse me hæc fateor ²³ Regi, non de Rege scripsisse. ²⁴ Non enim faciebam invidiam, sed pro eo timebam. Dignior mihi Alexander videbatur qui Jovis stirpem tacitus agnosceret, quàm qui prædicatione jactaret. Sed quoniam oraculi fides certa est, sit Deus causæ meæ testis. Retinete me in vinculis, dùm consultur Hammon ²⁵ in arcanum et occultum scelus. Interim qui Regem nostrum dignatus est filium, neminem eorum qui stirpi suæ insidiati sunt, latere patietur. Si certiora oraculis creditis esse tormenta, ne ²⁶ hanc quidem exhibendæ veritatis fidem deprecor.”

“ Solent rei capitis adhibere vobis ²⁷ parentes. Duos fratres ego nuper amisi : patrem nec ostendere possum, nec invocare audeo, cùm et ipse tanti criminis reus sit. ²⁸ Parùm est enim tot modò liberorum parentem, in unico filio acquiescentem, eo quoque orbari, nì ipse in rogam meum imponitur. Ergò, carissime pater, et propter me morieris, et mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego senectutem tuam extinguo. ²⁹ Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adversantibus Diis ? an ut hos ex me fructus perciperes, qui te manent ? Nescio an adolescentia mea miserior sit, an senectus tua. Ego in ipso robore ætatis eripior : tibi carnifex spiritum adimet, quem si fortuna ³⁰ expectare voluisset, natura reposebat.”

³¹ “ Admonuit me patris me mentio, quàm timidè et cunctanter, quæ Cebalinus detulerat ad me, indicare debuerim. Parmenio enim cùm audisset venenum a Philippo

medico Regi parari, deterrere eum voluit epistolâ scriptâ, quominus medicamentum biberet, quod medicus dare constituerat. Num creditum est patri meo? Num ullam auctoritatem ejus litteræ habuerunt? Ego ipse, quoties quæ audieram detuli, cum ludibrio credulitatis repulsus sum. Si et eum indicamus, invisi; et eum tacemus, suspecti sumus, quid facere nos oportet?" Cùmque unus e circumstantium turbâ exclamasset, ³² "Benè meritis non insidiari:" Philotas, "Rectè," inquit, "quisquis es, dicis. Itaque si insidiatus sum, pœnam non deprecor: et finem facio dicendi, quoniam ultima verba gravia sunt visa auribus vestris." Abducitur deindè ab iis, qui custodiebant eum.

XI. 30. Erat inter duces manu strenuus Belon quidam, pacis artium et ¹ civilis habitûs rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine ad eum gradum, in quo tunc erat, promotus; qui tacentibus cæteris, stolidâ audaciâ ferox, admonere eos cœpit, "quoties suis quisque ² diversoriis, quæ occupâssent, deturbatus esset, ut ³ purgamenta servorum Philotæ reciperentur eò, undè commilitones expulisset: auro argentoque vehicula ejus onusta totis vicis stetisse: ac ne in viciniam quidem diversorii quemquam commilitonum receptum esse: sed, per quos dispositos supra somnum habebat, omnes procul relegatos, ne ⁴ fœmina illa murmurantium inter se silentio veriùs quàm sono, excitaretur. Ludibrio ei fuisse ⁵ rusticos homines, Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos; ⁶ qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, ⁷ homines linguæ suæ per interpretem audire. Cur Hammonem consuli vellet eundem, cujus arguisset mendacium, Alexandrum filium agnoscentis? ⁸ scilicet veritus, ne invidiosum esset, quod Dii offerrent. Cùm insidiaretur capiti Regis et amici, non consuluisse eum Jovem; nunc ad oraculum mittere, dùm pater ejus sollicitaretur qui præsit in Mediâ, et pecuniâ, quæ ejus custodiæ commissa sit, perditos homines ad societatem sceleris impellat. Ipsos missuros ad oraculum, non qui Jovem interrogent, quod ex Rege cognoverint; sed qui gratias agant, qui vota pro incolumitate Regis optimi persolvant." Tum verò universa concio accensa est, et a corporis

custodibus initium factum, clamantibus, discerpendum esse parricidam manibus eorum. Id quidem Philotas, qui graviora supplicia metueret, haud sanè iniquo animo audiebat. Rex in concionem reversus, sive ut in custodia quoque torqueret, sive ut diligentius cuncta cognosceret, concilium in posterum diem distulit; et quanquam in vesperam inclinabat dies, tamen amicos convocari jubet: et cæteris quidem placebat, Macedonum more obrui saxis. Hephæstion autem et Craterus, et Cœnus, tormentis veritatem exprimendam esse dixerunt: et illi quoque, qui aliud suaserant, in horum sententiam⁹ transeunt.

31. Concilio ergò dimisso, Hephæstion cum Cratero et Cœno ad quæstionem de Philotâ habendam consurgunt. Rex, Cratero accersito, et sermone habito, cujus summa non edita est, in intimam diversorii partem secessit, et remotis arbitris, in multam noctem quæstionis expectavit eventum. Tortores in conspectum Philotæ omnia crudelitatis instrumenta proponunt. Et ille ultrò: "Quid cessatis," inquit, "Regis inimicum interfectorem, confitentem occidere? quid quæstione opus est? Cogitavi, volui." Craterus exigere, ut quæ confiteretur, in tormentis quoque diceret. Dùm corripitur, dùm obligantur oculi, dùm vestis exuitur, gentium jura, Deos patrios, nequidquam apud surdas aures invocabat. Per ultimos deindè cruciatus, utpotè et damnatus, et inimicis in gratiam Regis torquentibus, laceratur. Ac primò quanquam hinc ignis, illinc verbera, jam¹⁰ non ad quæstionem, sed ad pœnam¹¹ ingerebantur, non vocem modò, sed etiam gemitus¹² habebat in potestate. Sed postquàm intumescens corpus ulceribus flagellorum ietus nudis ossibus incussos ferre non poterat, si tormentis adhibitori modum essent, dicturum se, quæ scire expeterent, pollicetur. Sed finem quæstioni fore, jurare eos per Alexandri salutem, volebat, removerique tortores. Et utroque impetrato, Cratero inquit: "Die quid me velis dicere." Illo indignante ludificari eum, rursusque revocante tortores, tempus petere cæpit, dùm reciperet spiritum, cuncta quæ sciret, indicaturus.

32. Interim equites, nobilissimus quisque, et ii maximè, qui Parmenionem propinquâ cognatione contingebant, postquam

Philotam torqueri fama vulgaverat, legem Macedonum veriti,
¹² quâ cautum erat, ut propinqui eorum, qui Regi insidiati
 erant, cum ipsis necarentur; alii se interficiunt, alii in devios
 montes vastasque solitudines fugiunt, ingenti per tota castra
 terrore diffuso: donec Rex, tumultu cognito, legem se supplicii
 conjunctis sontium remittere edixit. Philotas verone an men-
 dacio liberare se a cruciatus voluerit, anceps conjectura est:
 quoniam et vera confessis, et falsa dicentibus, idem doloris
 finis ostenditur. ¹⁴ Cæterum, "Pater," inquit, "meus Heg-
 locho quâm familiariter usus sit, non ignoratis. Illum dico
 Heglochum, qui in acie cecidit. Ille omnium malorum nobis
 causa fuit. Nam cum primum Jovis filium se salutari jussit
 Rex, id indignè ferens ille, 'Hunc igitur Regem agnoscimus,'
 inquit, 'qui Philippum dedignatur patrem?' ¹⁵ Actum est de
 nobis, si ista perpeti possumus. Non homines solum, sed etiam
 Deos despicit, qui postulat Deus credi. Amisimus Alexan-
 drum, amisimus Regem: incidimus in superbiam, nec Diis qui-
 bus se exæquat, nec hominibus quibus se eximit tolerabilem.
 Nostrone sanguine Deum fecimus, qui nos fastidiat? qui gra-
 vetur mortalium adire concilium? Credite mihi, et nos, si
 viri sumus, a Diis adoptabimur. Quis proavum hujus Alexan-
 drum, quis deindè Archelaum, quis Perdiccam occisos ultus
 est? Hic quidem interfectores patris ignovit.' Hæc Heg-
 lochus dixit super cœnam; et postero die primâ luce a patrè
 accersor. Tristis erat, et me mœstum videbat: audieramus
 enim quæ sollicitudinem ¹⁶ incuterent. Itaque ut experiremur,
 utrumne vino gravatus effudisset illa, an altiore concepta
 consilio, accersi eum placuit. Venit: eodemque sermone ultrò
 repetito, adjecit, se, sive auderemus duces esse, proximas a
 nobis partes ¹⁷ vindicaturum: sive deesset animus, consilium
 silentio esse tecturum. Parmenioni, vivo adhuc Dario, intem-
 pestiva res videbatur; ¹⁸ non enim sibi, sed hosti esse occisuros
 Alexandrum: Dario verò sublato, præmium Regis occisi
 Asiam, et totum Orientem interfectores esse cessurum. Ap-
 probatoque consilio, in hæc fides data est et accepta. Quod

ad Dymnum pertinet, nihil scio; et hæc confessus, intelligo non prodesse mihi quòd proximi sceleris expers sum."

33. Illi, rursus tormentis admotis, cum ipsis quoque hastis os oculosque ejus ¹⁹ everberarent, expressere, ut hoc quoque crimen confiteretur. Exigentibus deinde, ut ordinem cogitati sceleris exponeret, "cum diu Bactra retentura Regem viderentur, timuisse," respondit, "ne pater septuaginta natus annos, tanti exercitus dux, tantæ pecuniæ custos, interim extingueretur, ipsique spoliato tantis viribus, occidendi Regis ²⁰ causa non esset. Festinasse ergo se, dum præmium haberet in manibus, representare consilium, cujus patrem expertem fuisse nisi crederent, tormenta, quanquam tolerare non posset, tamen non recusare." Illi collocti, satis quæsitum videri, ad Regem revertuntur. Qui, postero die, et quæ confessus erat Philotas, recitari; et ipsum, quia ²¹ ingredi non poterat, jussit afferri. Omnia agnoscente eo, Demetrius, qui proximi sceleris particeps esse arguebatur, producit: multâ affirmatione, animique pariter constantiâ, et vultus abnuens, quidquam sibi in Regem cogitatum esse, tormenta etiam deposebat in semetipsum. Tum Philotas, circumlatis oculis, ²² incidens in Calin quemdam laud procul stantem, propius eum jussit accedere. Illo perturbato, et recusante transire ad eum, "Patieris," inquit, "Demetrium mentiri, rursusque me exeruciari?" Calin vox sanguisque defecerant, et Macedones Philotam inquinare innoxios velle suspicabantur; quia nec a Nicomacho, nec ab ipso Philotâ, cum torqueretur, nominatus esset adolescens: qui ut Præfectos Regis circumstantes se vidit, Demetrium et semetipsum id facinus cogitasse confessus est. Omnes ergo a Nicomacho nominatos, more patrio, dato signo, saxis obruerunt. Magno non modò salutis, sed etiam invidiæ periculo liberatus erat Alexander. Quippè Parmenio et Philotas, principes ²³ amicorum, nisi palam sontes, sine indignatione totius exercitus non potuissent damnari. ²⁴ Itaque anceps quæstio fuit. Dum inficiatus est facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: post confessionem, Philotas ne amicorum quidem misericordiam meruit.

LIBER VII.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Alexander Lyncestem majestatis reum interfici curat. Deindè in Amyntam et Simmiam Philotæ amicos inquit, qui suam innocentiam gravi oratione tuerentur.

2. Amynta et fratribus in gratiam receptis, Polydamas a Rege jussus, in Mediam celeriter profectus, Parmenionem interfici curat. Undè indignatio et seditio, quæ tandem extinguitur.

3. Varios populos sub jugum mittit Alexander, ac septemdecim diebus cum exercitu Caneasum superat.

4. Bessus de bello adversus Alexandrum, inter epulas, consultat, sapientique Cobaris consilio minimè acquiescit. Interim Rex Bactra pervenit, ubi de Græcorum cœfectione et Satibarzane singulari certamine oeciso advenit nuncius.

5. Exercitus Alexandri siti liberatus Oxoni amnem industriè trajicit. Bessus dolo captus ad Alexandrum adducitur, a quo Darii fratri Oxatri cruciendus traditur.

6. Barbarorum et Macedonum benevolentia varias expugnat urbes. Sed et Alexandriam ad Tanaïm condit amnem, brevissimoque temporis absolvit spatio.

7. De Bello Scythiis inferendo Alexander æger ex vulnere cum suis init consilium. Aristander vates Regis voluntati extorum accommodat significata. Menedemus a Spitamene per insidias cum duobus peditum millibus et trecentis equitibus a Dabhis interficitur: quod callidè admodum dissimulat Alexander.

8. Dum exercitus ad bellum accingitur, Scytharum legati adveniunt, ac de pace prorsus egregiam ad Alexandrum orationem habent.

9. Alexander legatis dimissis Tanaïm trajicit, bellum Scythiis infert; eum vicla benignè agit.

10. Sogdianorum nobilium invictus animus. Bessi supplicium: novo milite auctus Alexandri exercitus.

11. Petram urbem amplissimam, situ naturæque loci ferè inexpugnabilem, ad deditionem cogit Alexander.

I. 1. PHILOTAM, sicut recentibus sceleris ejus vestigiis, jure affectum supplicio censuerant milites; ita, postquam desiderat esse, quem odissent, invidia in misericordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas juvenis, et patris ejus senectus atque orbitas. Primus Asiam aperuerat Regi, omnium periculorum ejus particeps: semper ¹ alterum in acie cornu defenderat: Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus, et ipsi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio ministro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosæque voces referebantur ad Regem: queis ille haud sanè motus, ² satisque prudens otii vitia negotio discuti, edicit ut omnes in vesti-

bulo regiae præstò sint. Quos ubi frequentes adesse cognovit, in concionem processit. ³ Haud dubiè ex composito Apharias postulare cœpit, ut Lyncestes Alexander, qui, multò ante quam Philotas, Regem voluisset occidere, exhiberetur. A duobus indicibus (sicut suprâ diximus) delatus, tertium jam annum custodiebatur in vinculis. Eundem in Philippi quoque cædem conjurâsse cum Pausaniâ, pro comperto fuit: sed quia primus Alexandrum Regem salutaverat, supplicio magis quàm crimini fuerat exemptus. Tum quoque Antipatri soceri ejus preces justam Regis iram morabantur. Cæterùm recrudit soporatus dolor: quippe veteris periculi memoriam præsentis cura renovabat. Igitur Alexander e custodiâ educitur, jussusque dicere, quamquam toto triennio meditatus erat defensionem, tamen hæsitans et trepidus, pauca ex iis quæ composuerat, protulit: ad ultimum non memoria solùm, sed etiam mens eum destituit. Nulli erat dubium quin trepidatio ⁴ conscientiæ indicium esset, non memoriæ vitium. Itaque ⁵ ex iis qui proximè astiterant, ⁶ oblutantem adhuc oblivioni, lanceis confoderunt.

2. Cujus corpore sublato, Rex introduci jussit Amyntam et Simmiam. Nam Polemon minimus ex fratribus, cùm Philotam torqueri comperisset, profugerat. Omnium Philotæ amicorum hi carissimi fuerant, ad magna et honorata ministeria illius inaximè suffragatione producti: memineratque Rex summo studio ab eo conciliatos sibi. Nec dubitabat, hujus quoque ultimi consilii fuisse participes. ⁷ Olim esse sibi suspectos matris suæ litteris, quibus esset admonitus, ut ab his salutem suam tueretur: ⁸ cæterùm se invitum deteriora credentem, nunc manifestis indiciis victum, jussisse vinciri. Nam pridè quàm detegeretur Philotæ scelus, quin in secreto cum ipso fuissent, non posse dubitari. Fratrem verò qui profugerit, cùm de Philotâ quæreretur, aperuisse fugæ causam. Nuper præter consuetudinem, officii specie, amotis longiùs cæteris, admovisse semetipsos lateri suo, nullâ probabili causâ: seque mirantem quòd ⁹ non vice suâ tali fungerentur officio, et ipsâ trepitatione eorum perterritum,

strenuè ad armigeros, qui proximè sequebantur, recessisse.
¹⁰ Ad hæc accedere, quòd cùm Antiphanes, ¹¹ scriba equitum, Amyntæ denunciasset, pridè quàm Philotæ scelus deprehensum esset, ut ex suis equis, more solito, daret iis qui amisissent suos; superbè respondisse, nisi incepto desisteret, brevi sciturum quis ipse esset. Jam linguæ violentiam, temeritatemque verborum, quæ in semetipsum jacularentur, nihil aliud esse, quàm scelesti animi indicem ac testem: quæ si vera essent, idem meruisse eos quod Philotam: si falsa, exigere ipsum ut refellant. Productus deindè Antiphanes, de equis non traditis, et adjectis etiam superbè minis indicat.

3. Tum Amyntas, factâ dicendi potestate: “¹² Si nihil,” inquit, “interest Regis, peto, ut dum dico, vinculis liberer.” Rex solvi utrumque jubet: desiderantique Amyntæ ut ¹³ habitus quoque redderetur, armigeri lanceam dari jussit: quam ut lævâ comprehendit, evitato eo loco, in quo ¹⁴ Alexandri corpus paulò antè jacuerat, “Qualiscumque,” inquit, “exitus nos manet, Rex, confitemur, prosperum eventum tibi debituros; tristiozem, fortunæ imputaturos. Sine præjudicio dicimus causam, liberis corporibus animisque: habitum etiam, in quo te comitari solemus, reddidisti. Causam non possumus, fortunam timere desinemus.”

“Te quæso, permittas mihi id primùm defendere, quod a te ultimum objectum est. Nos, Rex, sermonis adversus majestatem tuam habiti nullius conscii sumus nobis. Dicerem, jam pridem vicisse te invidiam, nisi periculum esset, ne alia malignius dicta crederes blandâ oratione purgari. Cæterùm, etiamsi, militis tui vel in agmine deficientis et fatigati, vel in acie periclitantis, vel in tabernaculo ægri et vulnera curantis, aliqua vox asperior esset accepta, merueramus fortibus factis, ut mallet ea ¹⁵ tempori nostro imputare, quàm animo. ¹⁶ Cùm quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sunt: corporibus nostris, quæ utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus. Parentes liberis, si occurrant, et ingrati et invisi sunt. Contrâ, cùm donis honoramur, cùm præmiis onusti revertimur, quis ¹⁷ ferre nos potest? quis illam animorum alacritatem continere? Militantium nec

¹⁸ indignatio, nec lætitia moderata est. Ad omnes affectus impetu rapimur; vituperamus, laudamus, miseremur, irascimur, utcumque præsens movit affectio: modò Indiam adire, et Oceanum libet, modò conjugum et liberorum patriæque memoria occurrit. Sed has cogitationes, has inter se colloquentium voces, signum tubâ datum finit. In suos quisque ordines currimus; ¹⁹ et quidquid irarum in tabernaculo conceptum est, in hostium effunditur capita. ²⁰ Utinam Philotas quoque intra verba peccâset!

“Proindè ad id prævertar, propter quod rei sumus. Amicitiam, quæ nobis cum Philotâ fuit, ²¹ adeò non eo infitias, ut expetisse quoque nos, magnosque ex eâ fructus percepisse confitear. An verò Parmenionis, quem tibi proximum esse voluisti, filium, omnes pene amicos tuos dignatione vincentem, cultum a nobis esse miraris? Tu hercule (si verum audire vis) Rex, hujus nobis periculi causa es. Quis enim alius effecit, ut ad Philotam ²² decurrerent, qui placere vellent tibi? ²³ Ab illo traditi, ad hunc gradum amicitiae tuæ ascendimus. Is apud te fuit, ejus gratiam expetere, et iram timere possemus. An non propemodùm in ²⁴ tua verba tui omnes, ²⁵ te præcunte, juravimus, eosdem nos inimicos amicosque habituros esse, quos tu haberes? ²⁶ hoc sacramento pietatis obstricti aversaremur scilicet, quem tu omnibus præferebas? Igitur si hoc crimen est, tu paucos innocentes habes, imo herculè neminem. Omnes enim Philotæ amici esse voluerunt: sed totidem, quot volebant, esse non poterant. Ità si a consociis amicos non dividis, nec ab amicis quidem separabis illos, qui iidem esse voluerunt.”

“Quod igitur conscientiae affertur indicium? ut opinor, quia pridè familiariter, et sine arbitris, locutus est nobiscum. At ego purgare non possem, si pridè quicquàm ex vetere vitâ ac more mutâsem. Nunc verò, si, ut omnibus diebus, illo quoque, qui suspectus est, fecimus, consuetudo diluet crimen.”

“Sed equos Antiphani non dedimus; et pridè quàm Philotas detectus est, ²⁷ hæc mihi cum Antiphane res erat! Qui si nos suspectos facere vult, quòd illo die equos non dederimus, semetipsum, quòd eos desideravit, purgare non poterit. ²⁸ Au-

ceps enim crimen est inter retinentem et exigentem, nisi quòd melior est causa suum non tradentis, quàm poscentis alienum. Cæterùm, Rex, equos decem habui, e quæis Antiphanes octo jam distribuerat iis, qui amiserant suos. Omninò duos ipse habebam : quos cùm vellet abducere homo superbissimus, certè iniquissimus, nisi pedes militare vellem, retinere cogebar. ²⁹ Nec infitias eo, liberi hominis animo locutum esse me cum ignavissimo, et ³⁰ hoc unum militiæ suæ usurpante, ut alienos equos pugnaturis distribuat. Huc enim malorum ventum est, ut verba mea eodem tempore et Alexandro excusem, et Antiphani."

"At, herculè, mater de nobis inimicis tuis scripsit. Utinam prudentiùs esset sollicita pro filio, et non ³¹ inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret. Quare enim non adscribit metùs sui causam? Denique non ostendit auctorem. Quo facto dictove nostro mota tam trepidas tibi litteras scripsit? O miseram conditionem meam, cui forsitan non periculosius est tacere, quàm dicere! Sed utcumque cessura res est, malo tibi defensionem meam displicere, quàm causam. Agnosces autem quæ dicturus sum. Quippe meministi, cùm me ad perducendos ex Macedoniâ milites mitteres, dixisse te, multos ³² integros juvenes in domo tuæ matris abscondi. Præcepisti igitur mihi, ³³ ne quem præter te intuerer, sed detrectantes militiam perducerem ad te. Quod equidem feci, et liberiùs quàm expediebat mihi, executus sum imperium tuum. Gorgiam, Hecatræum, et Gorgatam, quorum bonâ operâ uteris, indè perduxì. Quid igitur iniquius est, quàm me, qui, si tibi non paruissem, jure daturus fui pœnas, nunc perire, quia parui? Neque enim ulla alia matri tuæ persequendi nos causa est, quàm quòd utilitatem tuam muliebri præposuimus gratiæ. Sex millia Macedonum peditum, et sexcentos equites adduxi: quorum pars secutura me non erat, si militiam detrectantibus indulgere voluissem. Sequitur ergò, ut, quia illa propter hanc causam irascitur nobis, tu mitiges matrem, qui iræ ejus nos obtulisti."

II. 4. Dum hæc Amyntas agit, fortè supervenerunt, qui

fratrem ejus Polemonem, de quo antè dictum est, fugientem consecuti, vinctum reducebant. Infesta concio vix inhibui potuit, quin protinùs suo more saxa in eum jaceret. Atque ille sanè interritus, "Nihil," inquit, "pro me deprecor, ¹ modò ne fratrum innocentiae fuga imputetur mea. Hæc si defendi non potest, meum crimen sit. Horum ob id ipsum melior est causa, quod ego, qui profugi, suspectus sum." Hæc elocuto universa concio assensa est. ² Lacrymæ deindè omnibus manare cœperunt, adèd in contrarium repentè mutatis, ut solum pro eo esset quod maximè læserat. Juvenis erat primo ætatis flore pubescens, quem inter equites tormentis Philotæ conturbatos ³ alienus terror abstulerat. Desertum eum a comitibus, et hæsitantem inter revertendi fugiendique consilium, qui secuti erant, occupaverunt. Is tum flere cœpit, et os suum converberare, ⁴ mœstus non suam vicem, sed propter ipsum periclitantium fratrum. Moveratque jam Regem, non concionem modò: sed unus erat implacabilis frater, qui terribili vultu intuens eum, "Tum," ait, "demens lacrymare debueras, cùm equo calcaria subderes, fratrum desertor, et desertorum comes. Miser, quò, et unde fugiebas? Effecisti ut reus capitis accusatoriis uterer verbis." Ille peccasse se, sed graviùs in fratres, quàm in semetipsum, fatebatur.

5. Tum verò, neque lacrymis, neque acclamationibus, quibus studia sua multitudo profitetur, temperaverunt. Una vox erat pari emissa consensu, ut iusontibus et fortibus viris parceret. Amici quoque, datâ misericordiæ occasione, consurgunt, flentesque Regem deprecantur. Ille, silentio facto, "Et ipse," inquit, "Amyntam meâ sententiâ fratresque ejus absolvo. Vos autem, juvenes, malo beneficii mei oblivisci, quàm periculi vestri meminisse. Eadem fide redite in gratiam mecum, quâ ipse vobiscum revertor. Nisi quæ delata essent, ⁶ excussissem, valdè dissimulatio mea suspecta esso potuisset. Sed satius est purgatos esse, quàm suspectos. Cogitate neminem absolvi posse, nisi qui dixerit causam. Tu, Amynta, ignosce fratri tuo: erit hoc ⁶ simpliciter etiam mihi recou-

ciliati animi tui pignus." Concione deindè dimissâ, Polydamanta vocari jubet. Longè acceptissimus Parmenioni erat, proximus lateri in acie stare solitus. Et quanquam conscientia fretus in regiam venerat; tamen ut jussus est fratres suos exhibere admodum juvenes, et Regi ignotos ob ætatem, fiducia in sollicitudinem versâ, trepidare cœpit; sæpius quæ nocere possent, quàm quibus eluderet, reputans. Jam armigeri quibus imperatum erat, produxerant eos, cùm exsanguem metu Polydamanta propius accedere jubet: submotisque omnibus, "Seclere," inquit, "Parmenionis omnes pariter appetiti sumus: maximè ego ac tu, quos amicitie specie fefellit: ad quem persequendum puniendumque (vide quantum fidei tuæ credam) te ministro uti statui. Obsides, dum hoc peragis, erunt fratres tui. Proficiscere in Mediam, et ad Præfectos meos litteras scriptas manu meâ perfer. Velocitate opus est, quâ celeritatem famæ anteedas. Noctu pervenire te illuc volo; postero die quæ scripta erunt exequi. Ad Parmenionem quoque epistolas feres: unam a me, alteram Philotæ nomine scriptam. Signum annuli ejus in meâ potestate est. Sic pater, credens a filio impressum, cùm te viderit, nihil metuet."

6. Polydamas tanto liberatus metu, impensius etiam quàm exigebatur, promittit operam. Collaudatusque et promissis oneratus, depositâ veste quam habebat, Arabicâ induitur. Duo Arabes, quorum interim conjuges ac liberi, vinculum fidei, obsides apud Regem erant, dati comites. Per deserta etiam ob siccitatem loca, camelis undecimâ die, quò destinaverat, perveniunt. Et prius quàm ipsius nunciaretur adventus, rursus Polydamas vestem Macedonicam sumit, et in tabernaculum Cleandri (Prætor hic regius erat) quartâ vigiliâ pervenit. Redditis deindè litteris, constituerunt primâ luce ad Parmenionem coire. Namque cæteri quoque, quibus litteras Regis attulerat, ad eum venturi erant. Jam Parmenioni Polydamanta venisse nunciaverunt: qui dum lætatur adventu amici, simulque noscendi, quæ Rex ageret, avidus (quippe longo intervallo nullam ab eo epistolam acceperat)

Polydamanta requiri jubet. Diversoria regionis illius magnos recessus habent, amœnosque nemoribus manu consitis. Ea præcipuè Regum Satraparumque voluptas erat. Spatiabatur in nemore Parmenio, medius inter duces, quibus erat imperatum litteris Regis, ut occiderent. Agendæ autem rei constituerant tempus, cùm Parmenio a Polydamante litteras traditas legere cœpisset.

7. Polydamas procul veniens, ut a Parmenione conspectus est, vultu lætitiæ speciem præferente, ad complectendum cum cucurrit: mutuâque gratulatione functis, Polydamas epistolam a Rege scriptam ei tradidit. Parmenio vinculum epistolæ solvens, quidnam Rex ageret, requirebat. Ille ex ipsis litteris cogniturum esse respondit. Quibus Parmenio lectis, "Rex," inquit, "expeditionem parat in Arachosios. Strenuum hominem et nunquam cessantem! Sed tempus salutis suæ, tantâ jam partâ gloriâ, parcere." Alteram deindè epistolam Philotæ nomine scriptam lætus, quod ex vultu notari poterat, legebat. Tum ejus latus gladio haurit Cleander, deindè jugulum ferit: cæteri exanimem quoque confodiunt. Et armigeri, qui ad adiutum nemoris astiterant, cognitâ cæde, cujus causa ignorabatur, in castra perveniunt, et tumultuoso nuncio milites concitant. Illi armati ad nemus, in quo perpetrata cædes erat, coeunt; et nî Polydamas, cæterique ejusdem noxæ participes dedantur, murum circumdatum nemori eversuros denunciant, omniumque sanguine duci parentaturos. Cleander primores eorum intro-mitti jubet, litterasque Regis scriptas ad milites recitat, quibus insidiæ Parmenionis in Regem, precesque ut ipsum vindicarent, continebantur. Igitur cognitâ Regis voluntate, non quidem indignatio, sed tamen seditio compressa est. Dilapsis pluribus pauci remanserunt, qui, saltem ut corpus ipsius sepelire permitterent, precabantur. Diù id negatum est, Cleandri metu, ne offenderet Regem. Pertinaciùs deindè precantibus, materiam "consternationis subtrahendam ratus, capite deciso, truncum humare permisit. Ad Regem caput missum est.

8. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiæ domique clari viri. Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesse-

rat. Felicissimo Regi, et omnia ad fortunæ suæ exigenti modum, satisfecit. ⁹ Septuaginta natus annos, juvenis ducis, et sæpè etiam gregarii militis munia explevit; acer consilio, manu strenuus, carus principibus, vulgo militum acceptior. ¹⁰ Hæc impulerint eum ad regni cupiditatem, an tantum suspectum fecerint, ambigi potest; ¹¹ quia Philotas, ultimis cruciatibus victus, verane dixerit, quæ facta probari non poterant, an falsis tormentorum petierit finem, re quoque recenti, cùm magis posset liquere, dubitatum est. Alexander, quos libere mortem Parmenionis conquestos esse compererat, separandos a cætero exercitu ratus, in unam cohortem secrevit, ducemque his Leonidam dedit, et ipsum Parmenioni quondam intimâ familiaritate conjunctum. Ferè iidem erant, quos ¹² alioqui Rex habuerat in visos. Nam cùm experiri vellet militum animos, ¹³ admonuit; “siquis litteras in Macedoniam ad suos scripsisset, iis, quos ipse mittebat, perlaturis cum fide, traderet.” ¹⁴ Simpliciter ad necessarios suos quisque scripserat, quæ sentiebat. Aliis gravis erat, plerisque non ingrata militia. Ità et agentium gratias et querentium litteræ exceptæ sunt. ¹⁵ Et qui fortè tædium laboris per litteras erant questi, hanc seorsùm cohortem a cæteris tendere ignominiaë causâ jubet; fortitudine usurus in bello, libertatem linguæ ab auribus credulis remoturus. Et consilium, temerarium forsitan (quippe fortissimi juvenes contumeliis irritati erant), sicut omnia alia felicitas Regis ¹⁶ excepit. Nihil illis ad bella promptius fuit. Incitabat virtutem et ignominiaë demendæ cupido, et quia fortiora facta in paucis latere non poterant.

III. 9. His ità compositis, Alexander, Ariorum Satrape constituto, iter pronunciari jubet in Ariaspas; quos jam tunc mutato nomine *Evergetas* appellabant, ¹ ex quo frigore vietisque penuriâ Cyri exercitum affectum tectis et com meatibus juverant. Quintus dies erat, ut in eam regionem pervenerat; cognoscit Satibarzanem, qui ad Bessum defecerat, cum equitum manu irrupisse rursûs in Arios. Itaque præmittit Caranum et Erigyium cum Artabazo et Andronico, et sex millibus Græcorum peditum: sexcenti equites sequebantur. Ipse sexaginta

diebus gentem Evergetarum ordinavit, magnâ pecuniâ ob egregiam in Cyrum fidem donatâ. Relicto deindè, qui iis præesset, Armenide, (scriba is Darii fuerat) Arachosios, quorum regio ad Ponticum mare pertinet, subegit. Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurrit. Sex millia Macedonum erant, et ducenti nobiles, et quinque millia Græcorum, cum equitibus ducentis, haud dubiè robur omnium virium Regis. Arachosiis datus Memnon Prætor, quatuor millibus peditum, et sexcentis equitibus in præsidium relictis.

10. Ipse Rex nationem ne finitimis quidem satis notam, quippe nullo commercio colentem mutuos usus, cum exercitu intravit. Parapamisadæ appellantur; agreste hominum genus, et inter barbaros maximè inconditum: locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat. Gelidissimum Septentrionis axem ex magnâ parte spectant. Bactrianis ad Occidentem conjuncti sunt. Meridiana Regio ad mare Indicum vergit. Tuguria latere ²primò struunt. Et quia sterilis est terra materiæ, in nudo etiam montis dorso, usque ad summum ædificiorum fastigium ³eadem latereculo utuntur. Cæterùm structura latior ab imo, paulatim incremento operis in arctius cogitur; ad ultimum in carinæ maximè modum coït. Ibi foramine relicto, supernè lumen accipiunt. Vites et arbores, si quæ in tanto terræ rigore durare potuerunt, obruunt; penitus hyeme defossæ latent: eùm, nive discussâ, aperiri humus cœpit, cœlo solique redduntur. Cæterùm adeò altæ nives premunt terram, gelu et perpetuo penè rigore constrictæ, ut ne avium quidem feræve ullius vestigium exstet. Obscura cœli veriùs umbra, quàm lux, nocti similis premit terram, vix ut quæ propè sunt, conspici possint.

11. In hâc tamen omnis humani cultûs solitudine destitutus exercitus, quidquid malorum tolerari potest, pertulit: inopiam, frigus, lassitudinem, desperationem. Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus nivis: multorum ⁴adussit pedes: plurimorum oculis præcipuè perniciosus fuit. Fatigati quoque in ipso gelu deficientia corpora sternebant: quæ eùm moveri desissent, vis frigoris ità astringebat, ut rursus ad surgendum

conñiti non possent. A commilitonibus torpentes excitabantur: neque aliud remedium erat, quàm ut ingredi cogerentur. Tum demum vitali calore moto, membris aliquis redibat vigor. Si qui tuguria Barbarorum adire potuerunt, celeriter refecti sunt: sed tanta caligo erat, ut ædificia nulla alia res quàm fumus ostenderet. Illi nunquam antè in terris suis advenâ viso, cùm armatos repentè conspicerent, exanimati metu, quidquid in tuguriis erat, afferebant; ut corporibus ipsorum parceretur, orantes. Rex agmen circumibat pedes, jacentes quosdam erigens, et alios, cùm ægrè sequerentur, ⁶ adminiculo corporis sui excipiens. Nunc ad prima signa, nunc in medio, nunc in ultimo agmine itineris multiplicato labore aderat. Tandem ad cultiora perventum est loca, commeatuque largo recreatus exercitus; simul et qui consequi non potuerant, in illa castra venerunt.

12. Indè agmen processit ad Caucasum montem, ejus dorsum Asiam perpetuo jugo dividit: hinc simul mare, quod Ciliciam subit; illinc Caspium fretum, et amnem Araxem, aliaque regionis Seythiæ deserta ⁶ spectat. Taurus ⁷ secundæ magnitudinis mons committitur Caucaso; a Cappadociâ se attollens Ciliciam præterit, Armeniæque montibus jungitur. Sic inter se juga velut serie cohærentia perpetuum habent dorsum, ex quo Asiæ omnia ferè flumina, alia in Rubrum, alia in Caspium mare, alia in Hyrcanum et Ponticum decidunt. Septemdecim dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus. Rupes in eo decem in circuitu stadia complectitur, quatuor in altitudinem excedit, in quâ vinetum ⁸ Promethea fuisse antiquitas tradit. Condendæ in radicibus montis urbi sedes electa est; septem millibus servorum Macedonum, et præterea militibus, quorum operâ uti desisset, permissum in novam urbem considerare. Hanc quoque Alexandriam incolæ appellaverunt.

IV. 13. At Bessus Alexandri celeritate perterritus, diis patriis sacrificio ritè facto, sicut illis gentibus mos est, cum amicis ducibusque copiarum inter epulas de bello consultabat. Graves mero suas vires extollere; hostium nunc teme

ritatem, nunc paucitatem spernere incipiunt. Præcipue Bessus ferox verbis, et parto per seclum regno superbus, ac vix potens mentis, dicere orditur: "Socordia Darii crevisse hostium famam. Occurrisse enim in Ciliciæ angustissimis faucibus, cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca naturæ situ invia, tot fluminibus objectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis, ne fugæ quidem, nedum resistendi, occasionem fuerit habiturus. Sibi placere in Sogdianos recedere, Oxum amnem velut murum objecturum hosti, dum ex finitimis gentibus valida auxilia concurrerent. Venturos autem Chorasmios, et Dahas, Sacasque, et Indos, et ultra Tanaïm amnem colentes Scythas; quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri ejus non possent Macedonis militis verticem æquare." Conclamant temulenti, unam hanc sententiam salubrem esse: et Bessus circumferri merum largius jubet, debellaturus super mensam Alexandrum.

14. Erat in eo convivio Cobares, natione Medus, sed magicæ artis (si modò est ars, non vanissimi ejusque ludibrium), magis professione quàm scientiâ celebris, alioquin moderatus et probus. Is, cum præfatus esset, scire, servo esse utilius parere dicto, quàm afferre consilium, ¹ cum illos qui parcant, idem quod cæteros, maneat; qui verò suadeant, proprium sibi periculum, ² * * * * poculum ei, quod habebat in manu, tradidit. Quo accepto, Cobares, "Natura," inquit, "mortalium ³ hoc quoque nomine prava et sinistra dici potest, quòd in suo quisque negotio hebetior est, quàm in alieno. Turbida sunt consilia eorum, qui sibi suadent; obstat aliis metus, aliis cupiditas, nonnunquam naturalis eorum, quæ cogitaveris, amor. Nam in te superbia non cadit. Expertus es unumquemque, quod ipse repererit, aut solum, aut optimum ducere. Magnum onus sustines capite, regium insigne. Hoc aut moderatè perferendum est, aut (quod ⁴ abominor) in te ruet. Consilio, non impetu opus est." Adjecit deindè, quod apud Bactrianos vulgò usurpabant; CANEM TIMIDUM VEHEMENTIUS LATRARE, QUàm MORDERE: ALTISSIMA QUÆQUE FLUMINA MINIMO SONO LABI. Quæ inserui, ut, qualiscumque inter Barbaros potuisset esse pru

dentia, traderetur. Ut audientes suspenderat expectatione sui, tum consilium aperit, utilius Besso quàm gratius. "In vestibulo," inquit, "regiæ tuæ ⁵ velocissimus constitit Rex. Autè ⁶ ille agmèn, quàm tu mensam istam movebis. Nunc ab Tanai exercitum accerses, et armis flumina oppones: scilicet, quà tu fugiturus es, hostis sequi non potest? iter utrique commune est; victori tutius. Licèt strenuum metum putes esse; velocior tamen spes est. ⁷ Quin validioris occupas gratiam, dedisque te; utcumque cesserit, meliorem fortunam, deditus, quàm hostis, habiturus? Alienum habes regnum, ⁸ quò faciliùs eo careas. Incipies forsitan justus esse rex, cùm ipse ⁹ fecerit, qui tibi et dare potest regnum, et eripere. Consilium habes fidele, ¹⁰ quod diutiùs exsequi supervacaneum est. Nobilis equus umbrà quoque virgæ regitur; ignavus ne calcari quidem concitari potest." Bessus, et ingenio et multo mero ferox, adeò exarsit, ut vix ab amicis, quominus occideret eum (nam strinxerat quoque acinacem), contineretur. Certè convivio prosiluit, haudquaquam potens mentis. Cobares inter tumultum elapsus, ad Alexandrum transfugit.

15. Octo millia Bactrianorum habebat armata Bessus, quæ, quamdiu propter cæli intemperiem Indiam potiùs Macedonas petitueros crediderant, obedienter imperata fecerunt. Postquam adventare Alexandrum compertum est, in suos quisque vicos dilapsi, Bessum reliquerunt. Ille cum clientium manu, qui non mutaverant fidem, Oxo amne superato, exustisque navigiis, quibus transierat, ne iisdem hostis uteretur, novas copias in Sogdianis contrahebat. Alexander Caucasum quidem (ut supra dictum est) transierat: sed inopià frumenti propò ad famem ventum erat. Succo ex sesamà expresso, haud secùs quàm oleo, artus perungebant. Sed hujus succi ducentis quadragenis denariis amphoræ singulæ; mellis denariis trecentis nonagenis, trecentis vini æstimabantur; tritici nihil, aut admodum exiguum reperiebatur. *Siros* vocabant Barbari, quos ità solerter abscondunt, ut nisi qui defoderunt, invenire non possint. In iis conditæ fruges erant. In quarum penurià milites fluviatili pisce et herbis sustinebantur.

Jamque hæc ipsa alimenta defecerant, cùm jumenta, quibus onera portabant, cædere jussi sunt: horum carne, dum in Bactrianos perventum, ¹¹ traxere vitam.

16. Bactrianæ terræ multiplex et varia natura est. ¹² Ali-
bi multa arbor, et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit. Solum
pingue crebri fontes rigant. Quæ mitiora sunt, frumento
conseruntur. Cætera armentorum pabulo cedunt. Magnam
³ deindè partem ejusdem terræ steriles arenæ tenent. Squa-
lida siccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Cùm verò
venti a Pontico mari spirant, quicquid sabuli in campis jacet,
converrunt. Quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium
procul species est; omniaque pristini itineris vestigia inte-
reunt. Itaque qui transeunt campos, navigantium modo
noctu sidera observant, ad quorum cursum iter dirigunt: et
propemodum clarior est noctis umbra, quam lux. Ergò in-
terdiu invia est regio: quia nec vestigium, quod sequantur,
inveniunt, et nitor ¹⁴ siderum caligine absconditur. Cæte-
rùm si quos ille ventus, qui a mari exoritur, deprehendit,
arenâ obruit. Sed quâ mitior terra est, ingens hominum
equorumque multitudo gignitur. Ipsa Baetra, regionis ejus
caput, sita sunt sub monte Parapamiso. Bactrus annis præ-
terit mœnia. Is urbi et regioni dedit nomen. Hic Regi
stativa habenti nunciatur ex Græciâ Peloponnensium Laco-
numque defectio. Nondum enim victi erant, cùm proficeis-
cerentur tumultûs ejus principia nunciaturi. Et alius præsens
terror affertur, Seythas, qui ultra Tanaïm amnem colunt, ad-
ventare, Besso ferentes opem.

17. Eodem tempore, quæ in gente Ariorum Caranus et
Erigyus gesserant, perferuntur. Commissum erat prælium
inter Macedones Ariosque. Transfuga Satibarzanes Barbaris
præerat: qui cùm pugnant segnem utrinque æquis viribus
stare vidisset, in primos ordines adequitavit; demptâque
galeâ, inhibitis qui tela jaciebant, si quis viritim dimicare
vellet, provocavit ad pugnam, nudum se caput in certamine
habiturum. Non tulit ferociam Barbari dux illius exercitûs
Erigyus, gravis quidem ætate, sed et animi et corporis robore

nulli juvenum postferendus. Is galeâ demptâ canitiem ostentans, "Venit," inquit, "dies, quo, aut victoriâ, aut morte honestissimâ, quales amicos et milites Alexander habeat, ostendam." Nec plura elocutus, equum in hostem egit. Crederes imperatum, ut acies utræque tela cohiberent. Protinûs certè recesserunt, dato libero spatio, ¹⁵ intenti in eventum, non duorum modò, sed etiam suæ sortis; quippe alienum discrimen secuturi. Prior Barbarus emisit hastam; quam Erigyus modicâ capitis declinatione vitavit. At ipse infestam sarissam, equo calcaribus concito, in medio Barbari ¹⁶ gutture itâ fixit, ut per cervicem emineret. Præcipitatus ex equo Barbarus adhuc tamen repugnabat. Sed ille extractam ex vulnere hastam rursus in os dirigit. Satibarzanes hastam manu complexus, quò maturiûs interiret, ictum hostis adjuvit: et Barbari, duce amisso, quem magis necessitatè, quàm sponte secuti erant, tunc haud immemores meritorum Alexandri, arma Erigyio tradunt. Rex his quidem lætus, de Spartanis haudquaquam securus, magno tamen animo defectionem eorum tulit, dicens, "Non antè ausos consilia nudare, quàm ipsum ad fines Indiæ pervenisse cognovissent." Ipse Bessum persequens, copias movit: cui Erigyus spolia Barbari, ceu ¹⁷ opimum belli decus præferens, occurrit.

V. 18. Igitur Bactrianorum regione Artabazo traditâ, sarcinas et impedimenta ibi cum præsidio reliquit. Ipse cum expedito agmine loca deserta Sogdianorum intrat, nocturno itinere exercitum ducens. Aquarum (ut antè dictum est) penuria, ¹ priûs desperatione, quàm desiderio bibendi, sitim accendit. Per quadringenta stadia ne modicus quidem humor existit. Arenas vapor æstivi solis accendit, quæ ubi flagrare cœperunt, haud secûs quàm continenti incendio cuncta torrentur. ² Caligo deindè, immodico terræ fervore excitata, lucem tegit: camporumque non alia quàm vasti et profundi æquoris species est. Nocturnum iter tolerabile videbatur, quia rore et matutino frigore corpora levabantur. Cæterùm cum ipsè luce æstus oritur, omnemque naturalem absorbet humorem siccitas: ora visceraque penitus uruntur. Itaque primùm, ani

mi, deindè corpora deficere cœperunt. Pigebat et consistere, et progredi. Pauci a peritis regionis admoniti, præpararant aquam. Hæc paulisper repressit sitim. Deindè crescente æstu, rursum desiderium humoris accensum est. Ergò quidquid vini oleique erat, oribus ingerebatur. Tantaque dulcedo bibendi fuit, ut in posterum sitis non timeretur. Graves deindè avidè hausto humore, non sustinere arma, non ingredi poterant: et feliciores videbantur quos aqua defecerat; cùm ipsi sine modo infusam vomitu cogerentur egerere.

19. Anxium Regem tantis malis, circumfusi amici, ut meminisset suū,³ orabant; animi sui magnitudinem unicum remedium deficientis exercitūs esse: cùm ex iis, qui præcescerant ad capiendum locum castris, duo occurrunt, utribus aquam gestantes, ut filiis suis, quos in eodem agmine esse, et ægrè pati sitim non ignorabant,⁴ succurrerent. Qui cùm in regem incidissent, alter ex iis,⁵ utre resoluta, vas quod simul ferebat, implet, porrigens Regi: ille percunctatus, quibus aquam portarent, filiis ferre cognoscit. Tunc poculo pleno, sicut oblatum est, reddito, “⁶ Nec solus,” inquit, “bibere sustineo, nec tam exiguum dividere omnibus possum. Vos currite, et liberis vestris, quod propter illos attulistis, date.” Tandem ad flumen Oxum ipse pervenit primà ferè vesperâ. Sed exercitūs magna pars non potuerat consequi. In edito monte ignes jubet fieri, ut ii, qui ægrè sequebantur, haud procul castris se abesse cognoscerent. Eos autem qui primi agminis erant, maturè cibo ac potione firmatos, implere alios utres, alios vasa, quibuscum aqua posset portari, jussit, ac suis opem ferre. Sed qui intemperantiū hauserant,⁷ intercluso spiritu extincti sunt. Multòque major horum numerus fuit, quàm ullo amiserat prælio. At ille thoracem adhuc indutus, nec aut cibo refectus aut potu, quâ veniebat exercitus, constitit. Nec antè ad curandum corpus recessit, quàm præterierant,⁸ qui agmen sequebantur: totamque eam noctem cum magno animi motu perpetuis vigiliis egit. Nec postero die lætior erat: quia nec navigia habebat, nec pons erigi poterat, circum annum nudo solo, et materiâ maximè sterili. Consilium igitur, quod unum necessitas sub-

jecerat, init. Utres quamplurimos stramentis refertos⁹ dividit. His incubantes transnavère amnem: quique primi transierant, in statione erant, dum trajicerent cæteri. Hoc modo sexto demum die in ulteriore ripâ totum exercitum exposuit.

20. Jamque ad persequendum Bessum statuerat progredi, cum ea, quæ in Sogdianis erant, cognoscit. Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos præcipuo honore cultus a Besso. Sed nullis meritis perfidia mitigari potest: quæ tamen jam minùs in eo invisa esse poterat,¹⁰ quia nihil ulli nefastum in Bessum, interfectorem Regis sui, videbatur. ¹¹ Titulus facinori speciosus præferebatur, vindicta Darii. Sed fortunam, non scelus, oderat Bessi. Nam ut Alexandrum flumen Oxum superâsse cognovit, Dataphernem et Catenem, quibus a Besso maxima fides habebatur, in societatem cogitatæ rei adsciscit. Illi promptiùs adeunt, quàm rogabantur; assumptisque octo fortissimis juvenibus,¹² talem dolum intendunt. Spitamenes pergit ad Bessum, et, remotis arbitris, comperisse, ait, se, insidiari ei Dataphernem et Catenem, ut vivum Alexandro traderent:¹³ agitantes a semet occupatos esse, et vinctos teneri. Bessus tanto merito (ut credebat) obligatus,¹⁴ partim gratias agit, partim avidus explendi supplicii adduci eos jubet. Illi, manibus suâ sponte religatis, a participibus consilii trahebantur, quos Bessus truci vultu intuens consurgit, manibus non temperaturus. At illi, simulatione omissâ, circumstant eum, et frustra repugnantem vinciunt, direpto ex capite regni insigni: laceratâque veste, quam e spoliis occisi Regis induerat. Ille Deos sui sceleris ultores adesse confessus, adjecit, non Dario¹⁵ iniquos fuisse, quem sic ulciscerentur; sed Alexandro propitios, cujus victoriam semper etiam hostis adjuvisset. Multitudo an vindicatura Bessum fuerit, incertum est, nisi illi qui vinxerant, jussu Alexandri fecisse ipsos ementiti,¹⁶ dubios adhuc animi terruissent. In equum impositum, Alexandro tradituri ducunt. Inter hæc Rex,¹⁷ quibus matura erat missio, electis nongentis ferè, equiti bina¹⁸ talenta dedit, pediti terna denarium millia; monitosque ut liberos generarent, remisit

domum. Cæteris gratiæ actæ, quòd ad reliqua belli navaturos operam pollicebantur.

21. Perventum erat in parvulum oppidum; Branchidæ ejus incolæ erant. Mileto quondam jussu Xerxis, eùm e Græciâ rediret, transierant, et in eâ sede constiterant: quia templum, quòd Didymeon appellatur, in gratiam Xerxis violaverant. Mores patrii nondum exoleverant; sed jam bilingues erant, ¹⁹ paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres. Magno igitur gaudio Regem excipiunt, urbem seque dedentes. Ille Milesios, qui apud ipsum militarent, convocari jubet. Vetus odium Milesii gerebant in Branchidarum gentem. ²⁰ Proditis ergò, sive injuriæ, sive ²¹ originis meminisse mallent, liberum de Branchidis permittit arbitrium. Variantibus deindè sententiis, seipsum consideraturum, quid optimum factu esset, ostendit. ²² Postero die occurrentibus Branchidis secum procedere jubet. Cùmque ad urbem ventum esset, ipse cum expeditâ manu portam intrat. Phalanx mœnia oppidi circumire jussa, et dato signo diripere urbem, proditorum receptaculum, ipsosque ad unum cædere. Illi inermes passim trucidantur; nec aut commercio linguæ, aut supplicium velamentis precibusque inhiberi crudelitas potest: tandem, ut dejicerent, fundamenta murorum ab imo moliantur, ne quod urbis vestigium exstaret. Nemora lucosque sacros non cædunt modò, sed etiam extirpant, ut vasta solitudo et sterilis humus, excussis etiam radicibus, linqueretur: quæ si in ipsos prodicionis auctores excogitata essent, justa ultio esse, non crudelitas videretur. Nunc culpam majorum posteri luère, qui ne viderant quidem Miletum; ²³ adeò Xerxi non potuerant prodere.

22. Indè processit ad Tanaïm amnem. Quò perductus est Bessus, non vinetus modò, sed etiam ²⁴ omni velamento corporis spoliatus. Spitamenes cum tenebat, insertâ collo catenâ, tam Barbaris quam Macedonibus gratum spectaculum. Tum Spitamenes, "Et te," inquit, "et Darium, Reges meos ultus, interfectorem domini sui adduxi, eo modo captum, ejus ipse fecit exemplum. ²⁵ Aperiat ad hoc spectaculum oculos Darius. Existat ab inferis, qui illo supplicio indignus fuit, et hoc solatio

dignus est." Alexander, multum collaudato Spitamene, conversus ad Bessum, "Cujus," inquit, "feræ rabies occupavit animum tuum, cum Regem de te optimè meritum, prius vincere, deinde occidere sustinuisti? ²⁶ Sed hujus parricidii mercedem falso Regis nomine persolvisti tibi." Ille ²⁷ facinus purgare non ausus, Regis titulum se usurpasse dixit; ut gentem suam tradere ipsi posset; ²⁸ qui si cessasset, alium fuisse regnum occupaturum. At Alexander Oxatrem fratrem Darii, quem inter corporis custodes habebat, propius jussit accedere, tradique Bessum ei, ut cruci affixum, mutilatis auribus naribusque, sagittis configerent Barbari, asservarentque corpus, ut ne aves quidem contingerent. Oxatres cætera sibi curæ fore pollicetur: aves non ab alio quàm a Catene posse prohiberi adjicit; eximiam ejus artem cupiens ostendere: namque adeò certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque ²⁹ exciperet. Nunc si forsitan ³⁰ sagittandi tam celebri usu minùs admirabilis videri hæc ars possit, tamen ingens visentibus miraculum, magnoque honori Cateni fuit. Dona deinde omnibus, qui Bessum adduxerant, data sunt. Cæterum supplicium ejus distulit, ut eo loco, in quo Darium ipse occiderat, necaretur.

VI. 23. Interea Macedones ad petendum pabulum in-composito agmine egressi, a Barbaris, qui de proximis montibus decurrerunt, opprimuntur; pluresque capti sunt, quàm occisi. Barbari autem, captivos præ se agentes, rursus in montem recesserunt. Viginti millia ¹ latronum erant; fundis sagittisque ² pugnam invadunt: quos dum obsidet Rex, inter promptissimos dimicans, sagittâ ictus est, quæ in medio crure fixa reliquerat spiculum. Illum quidem mæsti et attoniti Macedones in castra referebant. Sed nec Barbaros fefellit subductus ex acie Rex: quippe ex edito monte cuncta prospexerant. Itaque postero die misere legatos ad Regem, quos ille protinus jussit admitti; solutisque fasciis magnitudinem vulneris dissimulans, erus Barbaris ostendit. Illi, jussi considerare, affirmant, non Macedonas quàm ipsos fuisse tristiores, cognito vulnere ipsius: cujus si auctorem reperissent, dedituros fuisse. Cum diis enim pugnare sacrilegos

tantum. Cæterum se gentem in fidem dedere, superatos virtute illius. Rex, fide datâ, et captivis receptis, gentem in deditionem accepit. Castris inde motis, lecticâ militari ferebatur, quàm pro se quisque eques pedesque subire certabant. Equites, cum quibus Rex prælia inire solitus erat, sui muneris id esse censebant. Pedites contrâ, cum saucios commilitones ipsi gestare assuevissent, eripi sibi proprium officium, ³ tum potissimum, cum Rex gestandus esset, querebantur. Rex in tanto utriusque partis certamine, et sibi difficilem, et ⁴ præteritis gravem electionem futuram ratus, in vicem subire eos jussit. Hinc quarto die ad urbem Maracanda perventum est. Septuaginta stadia murus urbis amplectitur; arx illius cingitur muro. Præsidio urbi relicto, proximos vicos depopulatur, atque urit. Legati deindè Abiorum Seytharum superveniunt, ⁵ liberi ex quo decesserat Cyrus, tum imperata facturi. ⁶ Justissimos Barbarorum constabat: armis abstinebant nisi lacessiti. Libertatis modico et æquali usu, principibus humiliores pares fecerunt. Hos benignè allocutus, ad eos Seythas, qui ⁷ Europam incolunt, Berden quemdam misit ex amicis, qui denunciaret eis, ne Tanaïm amnem regionis injussu Regis transirent. Eidem mandatum, ut contemplaretur locorum situm, et illos quoque Seythas, qui super Bosphoro incolunt, viseret.

25. Condendæ urbis sedem super ripam Tanaïs elegerat, claustrum et jam perdomitorum, et ⁸ quos deindè adire decreverat. Sed consilium distulit Sogdianorum nunciata defectio, quæ Bactrianos quoque traxit. Septem millia equitum erant, quorum auctoritatem cæteri sequebantur. Alexander Spitamenem et Catenem, a quibus ei traditus erat Bessus, haud dubius quin eorum operâ redigi possent in potestatem, qui novaverant res, jussit accersi. At illi, defectionis, ad quam coercendam evocabantur, auctores, vulgaverant famam, Bactrianos equites a Rege omnes, ut occiderentur, accersi: ⁹ idque imperatum ipsis; non sustinuisse tamen exequi, ne inexprabile in populares facinus admitterent: non magis Alexandri sævitiam, quàm Bessi parriidium ferre potuisse.

Itaque suâ sponte jam motos, metu pœnæ haud difficulter conceitaverunt ad arma. Alexander, transfugarum defectione compertâ, Craterum obsidere Cyropolim jubet. Ipse aliam urbem regionis ejusdem coronâ capit: signoque ut puberes interficerentur, dato, reliqui in prædam cessere victoris. Urbs diruta est, ut cæteri cladis ejus exemplo continerentur. Memaceni, valida gens, obsidionem, non ut honestiorem modò, sed etiam ut tutiorem ferre decreverant. Ad quorum pertinaciam mitigandam Rex quinquaginta equites præmisit, qui clementiam ipsius in deditos, simulque inexorabilem animum in devietos ostenderent. Illi nec de fide, nec de potentiâ Regis ipsos dubitare respondent, equitesque tendere extra munimenta urbis jubent. Hospitaliter deinde exceptos, gravesque epulis et somno, intempestâ nocte adorti interfecerunt.

26. Alexander haud secùs quàm par erat motus, urbem coronâ circumdedit, munitiorem quàm ut primo impetu capi posset. Itaque Meleagrum et Perdiccam in obsidione [ejus relinquit; ipse cum reliquis profectus, Crateri quoque copias suis] jungit, Cyropolim, (ut antè dictum est) obsidentes. Statuerat autem parcere urbi conditæ a Cyro: quippe non alium gentium illarum magis admiratus est, quàm hunc Regem et Semiramim, quos et magnitudine animi, et claritate rerum longè emicuisse credebat. Cæterùm pertinacia oppidanorum ejus iram accendit. Itaque captam urbem diripi jussit et deleri. Tum, Memacenis haud injuriâ infestus, ad Meleagrum et Perdiccam redit. Sed non alia urbs fortius obsidionem tulit; quippe et ¹⁰ militum promptissimi cecidère, et ipse Rex ad ultimum periculum venit. Namque cervix ejus saxo ita iecta est, ut oculis caligine offusâ collaberetur, ¹¹ ne mentis quidem compos. Exercitus certè velut crepto co ingemuit. Sed invictus adversus ea quæ cæteros terrent, nondum ¹² percurato vulnere, acrius obsidioni institit; naturalem ¹³ celeritatem irâ conceitante. Cuniculo ergò ¹⁴ suffossa mœnia ingens nudavere spatium, per quod irrupit, victorque urbem dirui jussit.

27. Hinc Menedemum cum tribus millibus peditum, et octingentis equitibus ad urbem Maracanda misit. Spitamenes transfuga, præsidio Macedonum inde dejecto, muris urbis ejus incluserat se, haud oppidanis consilium defectionis approbantibus. Sequi tamen videbantur, quia prohibere non poterant. Interim Alexander ad Tanaïm amnem redit, et quantum soli occupaverant castris, muro circumdedit. Sexaginta stadiorum urbis murus fuit; hanc quoque urbem Alexandriam appellari jussit. Opus tantâ celeritate perfectum est, ut decimo septimo die, quàm munimenta excitata erant, tecta quoque urbis ¹⁵absolverentur. Ingens militum certamen inter ipsos fuerat, ut suum quisque munus ¹⁶(nam divisum erat) primus ostenderet. Incolæ novæ urbi ¹⁷dati captivi, quos, reddito pretio dominis, liberavit: quorum posterius nunc quoque non apud eos tam longâ ætate, propter memoriam Alexandri, exoleverunt.

VII. 28. At Rex Scytharum, cujus tum ultra Tanaïm imperium erat, ratus eam urbem, quam in ripâ amnis Macedones condiderant, suis impositam esse cervicibus, fratrem, Cartasim nomine, cum magnâ equitum manu misit ad diruendam eam, proculque amne submovendas Macedonum copias. Bactrianos ¹Tanaïs ab Scythia, quos Europæos vocant, dividit. Idem Asiam et Europam finis interfluit. Cæterum Scytharum gens haud procul Thraciâ sita, ab Oriente ad Septentrionem se vertit, Sarmatarumque, ut quidam credidère, non finitima, sed pars est. Rectâ deindè regionem Alaunum ultra Istrum jacentem coit, et ultima Asiæ, quâ Bactra sunt, stringit. Habitat quæ Septentrioni propiora sunt: profundæ inde sylvæ, vastæque solitudines excipiunt. Rursus, quæ et Tanaïm et Bactra spectant, ²humano cultu haud disparia sunt. Primus cum hac gente non provisum bellum Alexander gesturus, cum in conspectu ejus obequitaret hostis, adhuc æger ex vulnere, præcipuè voce deficiens, quam et ³modicus cibus, et cervicis extenuabat dolor, amicos in consilium advocari jubet. Terrebat eum non hostis, sed iniquitas temporis. ⁴Bactriani defeecerant. Scythæ etiam

laccessabant. Ipse non insistere in terrâ, non equo vehi, non docere, non hortari suos poterat. Ancipiti periculo implicitus, Deos quoque incusans, querebatur se jacere segnem, ejus velocitatem nemo antea valuisset effugere. ⁵ Vix suos credere non simulari valetudinem. Itaque qui post Darium victum ariolos et vates consulere desierat, rursus ad superstitionem humanarum mentium ⁶ ludibria revolutus, Aristandrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat, explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis jubet.

29. Mos erat aruspibus exta ⁷ sine Rege spectare, et quæ portenderentur, referre. Inter hæc Rex, dum fibris pecudum explorantur eventus latentium rerum, propius ipsum considerare amicos jubet, ⁸ ne contentione vocis cicatricem infirmam adhuc rumperet. Hephæstion, Craterus, et Erigyus erant cum custodibus in tabernaculum admissi. ⁹ “Diserimen,” inquit, “me occupavit, meliore hostium quam meo tempore. Sed necessitas ante rationem est; maximè in bello, quo rarò permittitur tempora eligere. Defecere Bactriani, in quorum cervicibus stamus, et quantum in nobis animi sit, ¹⁰ alieno Marte experiuntur. Haud dubiè, si omiserimus Seythas ultrò arma inferentes, contempti ad illos, qui defecerunt, revertemur. Si verò Tanaïm transierimus, et ubique invictos esse nos Seytharum perniciè ac sanguine ostenderimus; quis dubitabit patere etiam Europam victoribus? Fallitur, qui terminos gloriæ nostræ metitur spatio, quod transituri sumus. Unus amnis interfluit, quem si trajicimus, in Europam arma proferimus. Et quanti æstimandum est, dum Asiam subigimus, in alio quodammodo orbe tropæa statuere, et quæ tam longo intervallo natura videtur diremisce, unâ victoriâ subito ¹¹ committere? At herculè si paululùm cessaverimus, in tergis nostris Seythæ hærebunt. An soli sumus, qui flumina transnare possumus? Multa in nosmetipsos ¹² recident, ¹³ quibus adhuc vicimus. Fortuna belli artem victos quoque docet. Utribus amnem trajiciendi exemplum fecimus nuper. Hoc ¹⁴ ut Seythæ imitari nesciant, Bactriani docebunt. Præterea ¹⁵ unus gentis hujus adhuc exercitus venit,

cæteri exspectantur. Ita bellum vitando alemus, ¹⁶ et quod inferre possumus, accipere cogemur. Manifesta est consilii mei ratio. Sed an permissuri sint mihi Macedones animo uti meo, dubito; quia ex quo hoc vulnus accepi, non equo vectus sum, non pedibus ingressus. Sed si me sequi vultis, valeo, amici. Satis virium est ad toleranda ista. Aut si jam adest vitæ meæ finis, in quo tandem opere meliùs extinguar?"

30. Hæc quassâ adhuc voce ¹⁷ subdeficiens, vix proximis exaudientibus, dixerat: cùm omnes a tam præcipiti consilio Regem deterrire cœperunt. Erigyus maximè, qui haud sanè auctoritate proficiens apud obstinatum animum, ¹⁸ superstitionem, ejus potens non erat Rex, incutere tentavit, dicendo, deos quoque obstare consilio, magnumque periculum, si flumen transisset ostendi. Intranti Erigyio tabernaculum Regis, Aristander occurrerat, tristitia exta fuisse significans. Hæc ex vate comperta Erigyus nuntiabat. Quo inhibito, Alexander non irâ solum, sed etiam pudore confusus, quòd superstitio, quam celaverat, detegebatur, Aristandrum vocari jubet. Qui ut venit, intuens eum, "Non Rex," inquit, "sed privatus sum? Sacrificium ut faceres, mandavi. Quid eo portenderetur, cur apud alium quàm apud me professus es? Erigyus arcana mea et secreta, te prodente, cognovit ¹⁹ quem certum mehereculè habeo extorum interprete uti metu suo. ²⁰ Tibi autem, quàm potest, denuncio, ipse mihi indices quid ex extis cognoveris, ne possis infitiri dixisse, quæ dixeris." Ille exsanguis attonitoque similis stabat, per metum etiam voce suppressâ. Tandemque eodem metu stimulante, ne Regis exspectionem moraretur, ²¹ "Magni," inquit, "laboris, non irriti, discrimen instare prædixi. Nec me mea ars, ²² quàm benevolentia, perturbat. Infirmitatem valetudinis tuæ video; et quantum in uno te sit, scio. Vereor ne non præsentì fortunæ tuæ sufficere possis." Rex jussu confidere felicitati suæ remisit: Sibi enim alia ad gloriam concedere Deos. Consultanti deindè eum iisdem, quonam modo flumen transirent, supervenit Aristander, non aliàs lætiora exta vi-

disse se affirmans, utiquè prioribus longè diversa: ²³ tum sollicitudinis causas apparuisse, nunc prorsus egregiè litatum esse.

31. Cæterùm quæ subindè nunciata sunt Regi, continuæ felicitati rerum ejus imposuerant labem. Menedemum, ut suprâ dictum est, miserat ad obsidendum Spitamenem Bactrianæ defectionis auctorem. ²⁴ Qui, comperto hostis adventu, ne muris urbis includeretur, ²⁵ simul fretus excipi posse, quâ venturum sciebat, consedit occultus. Sylvestre iter aptum insidiis tegendis erat. Ibi Dahas condidit. Equi binos armatos vehunt, quorum invicem singuli repenti desiliunt, et equestris pugnæ ordinem turbant. Equorum velocitati par est hominum pernicitas. Hos Spitamenes saltum circumire jussos, pariter et a lateribus, et a fronte, et a tergo hosti ostendit. Menedemus undiquè inclusus, ne numero quidem par, diù tamen restitit, clamitans, "Nihil aliud superesse locorum fraude deceptis, quàm honestæ mortis solatium ex hostium cæde." Ipsum prævalens equus vehabat, quo sæpiùs in cuneos Barbarorum effusis habenis ²⁶ erectus, magnâ strage eos fuderat. Sed cùm unum omnes peterent, multis vulneribus exsanguis, Hipsidem quemdam ex amicis, hortatus est, ut in equum suum ascenderet, et se fugâ eriperet. Hæc agentem anima defecit, corpusque ex equo defluxit in terram. Hipsides poterat quidem effugere, sed, amisso amico, mori statuit. Una erat cura, ne inultus occideret. Itaque, subditis calcari-bus equo, in medios hostes se immisit, et, memorabili editâ pugná, obrutus telis est. Quod ubi vidère qui cædi supere-rant, tumulum paulò quàm cætera editiorem capiunt: quos Spitamenes, fame in deditionem subacturus, obsedit. Ceci-cære eo prælio peditum duo millia, trecenti equites. Quam eladem Alexander solerti consilio texit, morte denunciâtâ iis, qui ex prælio advenerant, si acta vulgâssent.

VIII. 32. Cæterùm cùm 'animo disparem vultum diutiùs ferre non posset, in tabernaculum, supra ripam fluminis de industriâ locatum, secessit. ² Ibi sine arbitris singula animi consulta pensando, noctem vigiliis extraxit, sæpè pellibus tabernaculi allevatis, at conspiceret hostium ignes, e quibus

conjectare poterat, quanta hominum multitudo esset. Jamque lux apparebat, cùm thoracem indutus, procedit ad milites, tum primum post vulnus proximè acceptum. ³ Tanta erat apud eos veneratio Regis, ut facilè periculi, quod horrebant, cogitationem præsentia ejus excenteret. Læti ergò, et manantibus præ gaudio lacrymis, consalutant eum; et quod antè recusaverant bellum, feroces deposcunt. Ille se ratibus equitem phalangemque transportaturum esse pronunciat: super utres jubet nare leviùs armatos. Plura nec dici ⁴ res desideravit, nec Rex dicere per valetudinem potuit. Cæterùm tantà alacritate militum rates junctæ sunt, ut in triduum ad duodecim millia effectæ sint. Jamque ad transeundum omnia aptaverant: cùm legati Scytharum viginti, more gentis per castra equis vecti, nunciari jubent Regi, velle ipsos ad eum mandata perferre. Admissi in tabernaculum, jussique considerare, in vultu Regis defixerant oculos, credo quia magnitudine corporis animum æstimantibus, modicus ⁵ habitus, haudquaquam famæ par, videbatur. ⁶ Scythis autem non, ut cæteris Barbaris, rudis et inconditus sensus est. ⁷ Quidam eorum sapientiam capere dicuntur, quantacumque gens capit semper armata. Sicque locutos esse apud Regem, memoriæ proditum est. ⁸ Abhorrent forsitan moribus nostris et tempora et ingenia cultiora ⁹ sortitis; sed ¹⁰ ut possit oratio eorum sperni, tamen fides nostra non debet: quæ utcumque tradita sunt, incorrupta perferemus. Igitur unum ex his maximum natu ita locutum accepimus.

33. “ Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem esse voluissent, orbis te non caperet. Alterà manu Orientem, alterà Occidentem contingeres. Et hoc assecutus, seire velles ¹¹ ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiscis, quæ non capis. Ab Europà petis Asiam: ex Asià transis in Europam. Deindè, si humanum genus omne superaveris, cum sylvis et nivibus, et fluminibus, ferisque bestiis gesturus es bellum. Quid? tu ignoras, arbores magnas diu crescere, unâ horâ extirpari? Stultus est, qui fructus earum spectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide ne

dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis, cum ipsis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. ¹² Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit, et ferrum rubigo consumit. Nihil tamen firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido."

"Quid nobis tecum est? nunquàm terram tuam attigimus. Qui sis, unde venias, ¹³ licetne ignorare in vastis sylvis viventibus? nec servire ulli possumus; nec imperare desideramus. Dona nobis ¹⁴ data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ignores; jugum boum, aratrum, hâsta, sagitta, et patera. His utimur cum amicis, et adversus inimicos. Fruges amicis damus, boum labore quæsitas: paterâ cum iisdem vinum Diis libamus: inimicos sagittâ eminùs, hastâ cominùs petimus. Sic Syriæ Regem, et postea Persarum, Medorumque superavimus, patuitque nobis iter usque in Ægyptum. At tu, qui te gloriaris ad latrones persequendos venire, omnium gentium, quas adisti, latro es. Lydiam cepisti, Syriam occupasti, Persidem tenes, Bactrianos habes in potestate, Indos petisti; jam etiam ad pecora nostra avaras et insatiabiles manus porrigis."

"Quid tibi divitiis opus est quæ te esurire cogunt? Primus omnium satietate parâsti famem, ut quò plura haberes, acriùs, quæ non habes, cuperes. ¹⁵ Non succurrit tibi, quàm diu circum Bactra hæreas? Dum illos subigis, Sogdiani bellare cœperunt. Bellum tibi ex victoriâ nascitur. Nam ¹⁶ ut major fortiorque sis quàm quisquàm; tamen alienigenam dominum pati nemo vult. Transi modò Tanaïm; scies quam late ¹⁷ pateant, nunquàm tamen consequeris Scythas. Paupertas nostra velocior erit, quàm exercitus tuus, qui prædam tot nationum vehit. Rursus cùm procul abesse nos credes, videbis in tuis castris; eâdem enim velocitate et sequimur, et fugimus. Scytharum solitudines Græcis etiam proverbiiis audio ¹⁸ eludi. At nos deserta et humano cultu vacua, magis quàm urbes et opulentos agros ¹⁹ sequimur."

"Proindè fortunam tuam pressis manibus tene: lubrica est, nec invita teneri potest: ²⁰ Salubre consilium sequens,

quàm præsens tempus, ostendet meliùs; impone felicitati tuæ frænos; faciliùs illam reges. Nostri sine pedibus dicunt esse fortunam, quæ manus et pinnas tantùm habet. Cùm manus porrigit, pinnas quoque ²¹ comprehendere non sinit. Denique, si Deus es, tribuere mortalibus beneficia debes, non sua eripere. Sin autem homo es, id quod es, semper esse te cogita. ²² Stultum est eorum meminisse propter quæ tui oblivisceris."

"Quibus bellum non intuleris, bonis amicis poteris uti. Nam et firmissima est inter pares amicitia: et videntur pares, qui non fecerunt inter se periculum virium. Quos viceris, amicos tibi esse cave credas. Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est: etiam in pace, belli tamen jura servantur. Jurando gratiam Seythas sancire ne credideris: colendo fidem, jurant. Græcorum ista ²³ cautio est, quia pacta consignant, et Deos invocant: ²⁴ nos religionem in ipsâ fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt Deos. Nec tibi amico opus est, de cujus benevolentia dubites. Cæterùm nos et Asiæ et Europæ custodes habebis. ²⁵ Bactra, nisi dividat Tanaïs, contingimus. Ultra Tanaïm, usque ad Thraciam, colimus. Thraciæ Macedoniam conjunctam esse fama est. Utrique imperio tuo finitimos, hostes an amicos velis esse, considera." Hæc Barbarus.

IX. 34. Contrà Rex fortunâ suâ et consiliis eorum se usurum esse respondet, dimisisque legatis, in præparatas rates exercitum imposuit. In proris clypeatos locaverat, jussos in genua subsidere, quò tutiores essent adversus ictus sagittarum. Post hos, qui tormenta intenderent, stabant, et ab utroque latere, et a fronte circumdati armatis. Reliqui, qui post tormenta constiterant, remigem loriceam indutum scutorum testitudine armati protegebant. Idem ordo in illis quoque ratibus quæ equitem vehebant, servatus est: major pars ¹ a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat. At illos, quos utres stramento repleti vehebant, ² objectæ rates tuebantur. Ipse Rex cum delectis primus ratem solvit, et in ripam dirigi jussit. Cui Seythæ admotos ordines equitum in primo ripæ margine opponunt, ut ne applicari quidem terræ rates possent. Cæterùm præter

hanc speciem ripis præsidentis exercitus, ingens navigantes terror invaserat. Namque cursum gubernatores, cùm obliquo flumine impellerentur, regere non poterant: vacillantesque milites, et ne excuterentur solliciti, nautarum ministeria turbaverant. Ne tela quidem, ³conati nisu, vibrare poterant, cùm prior standi sine periculo, quàm hostem incessendi, cura esset. Tormenta saluti fuerunt, quibus in confertos ac temerè se offerentes haud frustra excussa sunt tela. Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudère ratibus. Vixque ullum fuit scutum, quod non pluribus simul spiculis perforaretur.

35. Jamque terræ rates applicabantur, cùm acies clypeata consurgit, et hastas certo ictu, ⁴utpotè libero nisu, mittit e ratibus. Et ut ⁵territos recipientesque equos vidère, alacres mutuâ adhortatione in terram desilière. ⁶Turbatis acriter pedem inferre cœperunt. Equitum deindè turmae, quæ frænatos habebant equos, perfregère barbarorum aciem. Interim cæteri agmine dimicantium tecti aptavère se pugnae. Ipse Rex, quod vigoris ægro adhuc corpori deerat, animi firmitate supplebat. Vox adhortantis non poterat audiri, nondum bene obduetâ cicatrice cervicis: sed dimicantem cuncti videbant. Itaque ipsi quidem ducum fungebantur officio: aliusque alium adhortati in hostem, salutis immemores, ruere cœperunt. Tum verò non ora, non arma, non clamorem hostium Barbari tolerare potuerunt, omnesque ⁷effusis habenis (namque equestris acies erat) capessunt fugam: quos Rex, ⁸quanquam vexationem invalidi corporis pati non poterat, per octoginta tamen stadia insequi perseveravit. Jamque, linquente animo, suis præcepit, ut, donec lucis aliquid superesset, fugientium tergis inhærent. Ipse, exhaustis etiam animi viribus, in castra se recepit, ibique substitit. Transierant jam Liberi patris terminos, quorum monumenta lapides erant crebris intervallis dispositi; arboresque proceræ, quarum stipites hedera contexerat. Sed Macedones ira longius provexit: quippe mediâ ferè nocte in castra redierunt, multis interfectis, pluribus captis, equosque mccc abegère. Ceciderunt autem Macedonum equites sexaginta, pedites centum ferè: mille saucii fuerunt.

36. Hæc expeditio deficientem magnâ ex parte Asiam famâ tam opportunæ victoriæ domuit. Invictos Seythas esse crediderant: quibus fractis nullam gentem Macedonum armis parem fore confitebantur. Itaque Sacæ misère legatos, qui pollicerentur gentem mandata facturam. Moverat eos Regis non virtus magis, quàm clementia in devictos Seythas: quippe captivos omnes sine pretio remiserat, ut fidem faceret, sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de irâ, fuisse certamen. Benignè igitur exceptis Sacarum legatis, comitem Excipinum dedit, adhuc admodum juvenem, ætatis flore conciliatum sibi: qui cum specie corporis æquaret Hephæstionem, lepore haud sanè illi par erat. Ipse, Cratero cum maiore parte exercitûs modicis itineribus sequi jusso, ad Maracanda urbem tendit: ex quâ Spitamenes, cognito ejus adventu, Bactra per fugerat. Itaque quadriduo Rex longum itineris spatium emensus, pervenerat in eum locum, in quo, Menedemo duce, duo millia peditum, et trecentos equites amiserat. Horum ossa tumulo contegi jussit, et inferias more patrio dedit. Jam Craterus cum phalange subsequi jussus, ad Regem pervenerat. Itaque ut omnes, qui defecerant, pariter belli clade premerentur, copias dividit, urique agros, et interfici puberes jussit.

X. 37. Sogdiana regio maiore ex parte deserta est: octingenta ferè stadia in latitudinem vastæ solitudines tenent. Ingens spatium rectæ regionis est, per quam amnis (Polytimetum vocant incolæ) fertur. Torrentem cum ripæ in tenuem alveum cogunt: deindè caverna accipit, et sub terram rapit. Cursus absconditi indicium est aquæ meantis sonus, cum ipsum solum, sub quo tantus amnis fluit, ne modico quidem resudet humore. Ex captivis Sogdianorum, ad Regem triginta nobilissimi, corporum robore eximio, perducti erant. Qui ut per interpretem cognoverunt jussu Regis ipsos ad supplicium trahi; carmen lætantium modo canere, tripudiisque, et lascivioris corporis motu, gaudium quoddam animi ostentare cœperunt. Admiratus Rex, tantâ magnitudine animi oppetere mortem, revocari eos jussit, causam tam effusæ lætitiæ, cum supplicium ante oculos haberent, requirens. Illi, si ab alio occiderentur, tristes

morituros fuisse respondent: nunc a tanto Rege victoro omnium gentium majoribus suis redditos, honestam mortem, quam fortes viri voto quoque expeterent, ¹ carminibus sui moris lætitiæque celebrare. Tum Rex admiratus magnitudinem animi, "Quæro itaque," inquit, "an vivere velitis non inimici mihi, ejus beneficio victuri estis?" Illi nunquàm se ² inimicos ei, sed bello lacessitos, hostes fuisse respondent. Si quis ipsos beneficio, quàm injuriâ experiri maluisset, certaturos fuisse ne vincerentur officio. Interrogantique, quo pignore fidem obligaturi essent; vitam, quam acciperent, pignori futuram esse dixerunt; reddituros, quancumque repetisset. Nec promissum fefellerunt. Nam qui remissi domos ierant, in fide continuère populares. Quatuor inter custodes corporis retenti nulli Macedonum in Regem charitate cesserunt.

38. In Sogdianis Peucolao cum tribus millibus peditum (neque enim majore præsidio indigebat) relicto, Bactra pervenit. Inde Bessum Ecbatana duci jussit, interfecto Dario pœnas capite persoluturum. Iisdem ferè diebus Ptolemæus et Menidas peditum tria millia, et equites mille adduxerunt mercede militaturos: Alexander quoque ex Lyciâ cum pari numero peditum, et quingentis equitibus venit. Totidem e Syriâ Aselepiodorum sequebantur. Antipater Græcorum octo millia, in quibus quingenti equites erant, miserat. Itaque exercitu aucto, ad ea, quæ defectione turbata erant, componenda processit: interfectisque ³ consternationis auctoribus, quarto die ad flumen Oxum perventum est: hic, quia limum vehit, turbidus semper et insalubris est potu. Itaque puteos miles cœperat fodere. Nec tamen humo altè egestà existerat humor, cùm in ipso tabernaculo Regis conspectus est fons: quem, quia tardè notaverant, subito extitisse finxerunt. Rexque ipse credi voluit, donum Dei id fuisse. Superatis deindè annibus Ocho et Oxo, ad urbem Marginiam pervenit. Circa eam sex oppidis condendis electa sedes est. Duo ad meridiem versa, quatuor spectantia Orientem, modicis inter se spatiis distabant, ne procul repetendum esset mutuum

auxilium. Hæc omnia sita sunt in editis collibus, ¹ tunc velut fræni domitarum gentium; nunc originis suæ oblita serviunt quibus imperaverunt.

XI. 39. Et cætera quidem pacaverat Rex. Una erat Petra, quam Arimazes Sogdianus cum triginta millibus armatorum obtinebat, alimentis antè congestis, quæ tantæ multitudini vel per biennium suppeterent. Petra ¹ in altitudinem triginta eminet stadia, circuitu centum et quinquaginta complectitur. Undique abscissa et abrupta semitâ perangustâ aditur. In medio altitudinis spatium habet specum, cujus ² os arctum et obscurum est; paulatim deindè ulteriora panduntur. Ultima etiam altos recessus habent: fontes per totum ferè specum manant; e quibus collatæ aquæ per prona montis flumen emittunt. Rex, loci difficultate spectatâ, statuerat inde abire: cupido deindè incessit animo, naturam quoque fatigandi. Priùs tamen quàm fortunam obsidionis experiretur, Cophan (Artabazi hic filius erat) misit ad Barbaros, qui suaderet ut dederent rupem. Arimazes, loco fretus, superbè multa respondit. Ad ultimum, an Alexander volare possit, interrogat. Quæ, nunciata Regi, sic accendèrè animum, ut adhibitis eum quibus consultare erat solitus, indicaret insolentiam Barbari illudentis ipsos, quia pinnae non haberent. Se autem proximâ nocte effecturum, ut crederet, Macedonas etiam volare. "Trecentos," inquit, ³ "pernicissimos juvenes ex suis quisque copiis perducite ad me, qui per calles, et penè invias rupes, domi pecora agere consueverint."

40. Illi præstantes et levitate corporum et ardore animorum, strenuè adducunt; quos intuens Rex, "Vobiseum," inquit, "O juvenes, et mei æquales, urbium invictarum antè munimenta superavi: montium juga perenni nive obruta emensus sum: angustias Ciliciæ intravi: Indiæ sine lassitudine vim frigoris sum perpersus. Et ⁴ mei documenta vobis dedi, et vestri habeo. Petra, quam videtis, unum aditum habet, quem Barbari obsident, cætera negligunt. Nullæ vigiliæ sunt, nisi quæ castra nostra spectant. Iuve-

nietis viam, si solerter rimati fueritis aditus ferentes ad cacumen. ⁶ Nihil tam altè natura constituit, quò virtus non possit eniti. Experiendo quæ cæteri desperaverunt, Asiam habemus in potestate. Evadite in cacumen, quod cùm ceperitis, candidis velis signum mihi dabit: ego, copiis admotis, hostem in nos a vobis convertam. Præmium erit ei qui primus occupaverit verticem, talenta decem. Uno minus accipiet, qui proximus ei venerit: eademque ad decem homines servabitur ⁶ portio. Certum autem habeo, vos non tam liberalitatem intueri meam, quàm voluntatem." ⁷ His animis Regem audierunt, ut jam cepisse verticem viderentur: dimissique ferreos cuneos, quos inter saxa defigerent, validosque funes parabant. Rex circumvectus Petram, quà minime asper ac præruptus aditus videbatur, secundâ vigiliâ ⁸ (quod benè verteret) ingredi jubet.

41. Illi, alimentis in biduum sumptis, gladiis modò atque hastis armati subire cœperunt. Ac primò pedibus ingressi sunt: deindè, ut in prærupta perventum est, alii manibus eminentia saxa complexi levavère semet, alii adjectis funium laqueis evasère; cùm cuneos inter saxa defigerent quæis gradus subinde insisterent: diem inter metum laboremque consumpserunt. Per aspera enixis duriora restabant, et crescere altitudo Petræ videbatur. Illa verò miserabilis erat ⁹ facies, cùm ii, quos instabilis gradus fefellerat, ex præcipiti devolverentur: mox eadem in se patienda alieni casûs ostendebat exemplum. Per has tamen difficultates enituntur in verticem montis, omnes fatigatione continuati laboris affecti, quidam muletati parte membrorum; pariterque eos et nox, et somnus oppressit. Stratis passim corporibus in inviis et in asperis saxorum, periculi instantis obliti in lucem quieverunt: tandemque velut ex alto sopore excitati, occultas subjectasque ipsis valles ¹⁰ rimantes, ignari in quâ parte Petræ tanta vis hostium condita esset, fumum specûs infra seipsos evolutum notaverunt. Ex quo intellectum est, illam hostium latebram esse. Itaque hastis imposuère quod convenerat signum, totoque e numero duos et tringinta in ascensu interiisse cognos

cunt. Rex non cupidine magis potiundi loci, quàm ¹¹ vicem eorum, quos ad tam manifestum periculum miserat, sollicitus, toto die cacumina montis intuens restitit. Noctu demum cùm obscuritas conspectum oculorum ademisset, ad curandum corpus recessit.

42. Postero die nondum satis clarà luce, primus vela, signum capti verticis, conspexit. Sed ne falleretur ¹² acies, dubitare cogebat varietas cœli, nunc internitente lucis fulgore, nunc condito. Verùm ut liquidior lux apparuit cœlo, dubitatio exempta est. Vocatumque Cophan, per quem Barbarorum animos tentaverat, mittit ad eos, qui moneret, nunc saltem salubrius consilium inirent. Sin autem fiducià loci perseverarent, ostendi a tergo jussit, qui ceperant verticem. Cophas admissus suadere cœpit Arimazi, Petram tradere, gratiam Regis inituro, si tantas res molientem in unius rupis obsidione hærere non coëgisset. Ille, ferociùs superbiùsque quàm antea locutus, ¹³ abire Cophan jubet. At is prehensum manu Barbarum rogat, ut secum extra specum prodeat: quo impetrato, juvenes in cacumine ostendit, ejusque superbiæ haud immeritò illudens, pinuas ait habere milites Alexandri. Jamque e Macedonum castris signorum concensus, et totius exercitiis clamor audiebatur. Ea res, ¹⁴ sicut pleraque belli vana et inania, Barbaros ad deditionem traxit. Quippe occupati metu, paucitatem eorum, qui a tergo erant, æstimare non poterant. Itaque Cophan (nam trepidantes reliquerat) strenuè revocant, et cum eo triginta principes mittunt, qui Petram tradant, et ut incolumibus abire liceat, paciscantur. ¹⁵ Ille, quanquam verebatur, ne conspectà juvenum paucitate deturbarent eos Barbari, tamen et fortunæ suæ confisus, et Arimazi superbiæ infensus, nullam se conditionem deditionis accipere respondit. Arimazes, desperatis magis quàm perditis rebus, cum propinquis nobilissimisque suæ gentis descendit in castra, quos omnes verberibus affectos, sub ipsis radicibus Petræ ¹⁶ crucibus jussit affligi. Multitudo deditiorum incolis novarum urbium cum pecunià captà dono

data est. Artabazus in Petrae regionisque, quæ apposita esset ei, ¹⁷ tutelâ relictus est.

LIBER VIII.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Massagetis, Dahis, et Sogdianis subactis, Scythæ sui Regis filiam Alexandro conjugem offerunt, qui leono interfecto et quatuor millibus ferarum in venatione dejectis, Clitum solemnî convivio adhibitum, et liberiùs loquentem interficit.

2. Sera Alexandri pœnitentia, quam sequuntur bellicæ expeditiones adversus Bactrianos transfugas et Sysimithren: Philippi item strenuissimi juvenis, et Erigyli clarissimi ducia, obitus.

3. Spitamenis uxorem, interfecti mariti caput afferentem, Alexander castris excedero jubet: provincias quasdam a Præfectorum suorum injuriis vindicat.

4. Frigoris nimia vi penè opprimitur exercitus Gabazam aditurus. Alexandri constantia et erga gregarium militem humanitas, ejusdemque cum Roxane matrimonium.

5. Cogitationibus in Bellum Indicum versis, adulatorum fraude, nimia superbiâ elatus Alexander, Jovis filius vult salutare: quod Calisthenes gravi oratione improbat.

6. Ex ignominia Hermolao nobili puero illatâ nascitur in caput Alexandri conjuratio, quâ detectâ, inter auctores sceleris innocens Calisthenes conjicitur.

7. Hermolai, Calisthenem justum esse asseverantis, adversus crudelem Alexandri superbiam invectiva.

8. Alexandri ad Hermolai invectivam responsio: conjuratorum item, atque innocentis Calisthenis supplicium.

9. Indi, Gangis, Dyardenis, Indiæ, ejus incolarum, luxu disfluentium Regum, ac sapientum, luculenta descriptio.

10. Varios Indiæ populos mirâ felicitate, non tamen sine sanguine, Alexander enbjicit.

11. Aornus petra et arx inaccessa ab Alexandro oppugnatur, et ab obsessis relicta capitur.

12. Omphis Rex potentissimus se regnumque suum Alexandro permittit, a quo in integrum restituitur: unde mutua dona regia.

13. Porum Regem, Omphis suasu, Alexander ancipiti quidem et sub initia periculossimo aggreditur bello.

14. Indorum et Macedonum insignis et cruenta pugna; Pori captivi magnanimitas, et Alexandri regia clementia.

I. 1. ALEXANDER ¹ majore famâ quàm gloriâ in ditionem redactâ Petrà, eum propter vagum hostem spargendæ manus essent, in tres partes divisit exercitum: Hephæstionem uni, Cænon alteri duces dederat: ipse cæteris præerat. Sed non

eadem mens omnibus Barbaris fuit. Armis quidam subacti plures ante certamen ²imperata fecerunt: quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque jussit attribui. At exules Baetriani cum octingentis equitibus Massagetarum proximis vicos vastaverunt. Ad quos coercendos Attinas regionis ejus Præfectus trecentos equites, insidiarum quæ parabantur ignarus, eduxit. Namque hostis in sylvis, quæ erant fortè campo junctæ, armatum militem condidit, paucis propellentibus pecora, ut improvidum ad insidias præda perduceret. Itaque ³incomposito agmine, solutisque ordinibus, Attinas ⁴prædabundus sequebatur: quem prætergressum sylvam, qui in eà consederant, ex improvise adorti, cum omnibus interemerunt. Celeriter ad Craterum hujus cladis fama perlata est, qui cum omni equitatu supervenit. Et Massagetæ quidem jam refugerant. Dahæ mille oppressi sunt: quorum clade, totius regionis finita defectio. Alexander quoque, Sogdianis rursus subactis, Maracanda repetit.

2. Ibi Berdes, quem ad Scythas super Bosphorum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis occurrit. Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis præerat, Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adjunctus, miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. Scythæ petebant, ut Regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi jungeret: si dedignaretur affinitatem, principes Macedonum cum primoribus suæ gentis connubio coire pateretur. Ipsum quoque Regem venturum ad eum pollicebantur. Utrâque legatione benignè auditâ, Hephæstionem et Artabazum opperiens, stativa habuit: ⁵quibus adjunctis, in regionem quæ appellatur *Bazaria*, pervenit. Barbaræ opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt majora indicia, quàm magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clausi. Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt sylvas, crebris perennium aquarum fontibus amœnas. Muris nemora cinguntur, turresque habent venantium receptacula. Quatuor continuis ætatibus intactum saltum fuisse constabat; quem Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus, agitari undique feras jussit. Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis raræ ipsum Regem invasurus incurreret, fortè Lysimachus, [qui postea

⁶ regnavit,] proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere feræ cœperat. Quo Rex repulso, et abire jusso, adjecit, tam a semet uno, quàm a Lysimacho, leonem interfici posse. Lysimachus enim ⁷ quondam, cùm venaretur in Syriâ, occiderat quidem eximie magnitudinis feram solus, sed lævo humero usque ad ossa laceratus ad ultimum periculi pervenerat. ⁸ Idipsum exprobrans ei Rex, fortiùs quàm locutus est, fecit. Nam feram non excepit modò, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. Fabulam, quæ objectum leoni a Rege Lysimachum ⁹ temerè vulgavit, ab eo casu (quem suprâ diximus) ortam esse crediderim. Cæterùm Macedones, quanquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen ¹⁰ scivère gentis suæ more, ne ¹¹ pedes venaretur, aut sine delectis principum, amicorumque. Ille quatuor millibus ferarum dejectis, in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est.

3. Inde Maracanda reditum est : acceptâque ætatis excusatione ab Artabazo, provinciam ejus destinat Clito. Hic erat, qui apud Granicum amnem nudo capite Regem dimicantem clypeo suo texit, et Rhosacis manum capiti Regis imminentem gladio amputavit; vetus Philippi miles, multisque bellicis operibus clarus. Hellanice, quæ Alexandrum educaverat, soror ejus, haud secus quàm mater a Rege diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei ejus tutelæque commisit. Jamque iter parare ¹² in posterum jussus, solemnî et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo Rex cum ¹³ multo in-caluisset mero, immodicus æstimator suû, celebrare quæ gesserat, cœpit; ¹⁴ gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui sentiebant vera memorari. Silentium tamen habuère seniores, donec Philippi res orsus ¹⁵ obterere, nobilem apud Chæroneam victoriam ¹⁶ sui operis fuisse jactavit, ademptamque sibi malignitate et invidiâ patris tantæ rei gloriam. Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Græcos mercenarios ortâ, debilitatum vulnere, quod in eâ consternatione acceperat, ¹⁷ jacuisse, ¹⁸ non aliàs quàm simulatione mortis tutiorem : se corpus ejus protexisse clypeo suo, ruentesque in illum suâ manu occisos. Quæ patrem nunquam ¹⁹ æquo animo esse confesum, ²⁰ invitum filio

debentem salutem suam. ²¹ Itaque post expeditionem, quam ²² sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri, fusos fugatosque hostes, nec affuisse usquam Philippum. Laude dignos esse, non ²³ qui Samothracum initia viserent, cùm Asiam uri vastarique oportet; sed eos, qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent.

4. Hæc et his similia læti audière juvenes: ingrata senioribus erant, maximè propter Philippum, sub quo diutius vixerant. Tum Clitus, ne ipse quidem satis sobrius, ad eos, qui infra ipsum ²⁴ cubabant, conversus, ²⁵ Euripidis retulit carmen, ²⁶ ita ut sonus magis quàm sermo exaudiri posset a Rege. Quo significabatur, ²⁷ “malè instituisse Græcos quòd tropæis Regum duntaxat nomina inscriberentur. ²⁸ Alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi.” Itaque Rex cum suspicaretur ²⁹ maligniùs habitum esse sermonem, percontari proximos cœpit, quid ex Clito audissent. Et illis ad silentium obstinatis, Clitus paulatim majore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Græciâ gesta commemorat, omnia præsentibus præferens. Hinc inter juniores senesque orta contentio est. ³⁰ Et Rex, velut patienter audiret, queis Clitus obterebat laudes ejus, ingentem iram conceperat. Cæterum cùm ³¹ animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter orto sermoni Clitus imponeret; nihil eo remittente, magis exasperabatur. Jamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defendere audebat: et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thebarum præferebat excidio; non vino modò, sed etiam animi pravâ contentione proventus.

5. Ad ultimum, “Si moriendum,” inquit, “est pro te, Clitus est primus. At cùm victoriæ arbitrium agis, præcipuum ferunt præmium, qui procacissimè patris tui memoriæ illudunt. Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, toties rebellem, et non modò indomitam, sed quæ ne subigi quidem possit. Mittor ad feras bestias, præcipitia ingenia sortitas. Sed quæ ad me pertinent, transeo. Philippi milites spernis, oblitus, nisi hic Atharias senex juniores pugnam detrectantes revocasset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnassum hæsueros fuisse. Quo

modò ergo Asiam etiam -cum istis junioribus subjecisti? Verum est (ut opinor) quod avunculum tuum in Italiâ dixisse constat: ipsum in viros incidisse, te in foeminas." Nihil ex omnibus inconsultè ac temerè actis Regem magis moverat, quàm Parmenionis cum honore mentio illata; dolorem tamen Rex pressit, contentus jussisse ut convivio excederet: nec quidquam aliud adjecit, quàm, forsitan eum (si diutiùs locutus foret) ³² exprobraturum sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam: hoc enim superbè sæpe jaetâsse. ³³ Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proximi ei cubuerant, injectis manibus, jurgantes mouentesque conabantur abducere. Clitus cùm abstraheretur, ad pristinam ³⁴ violentiam irâ quoque adjectâ, " ³⁵ Suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum; nunc postquàm tanti meriti præteriit tempus, etiam memoriam invisam esse," proclamat. Attali quoque cædem ³⁶ objiciebat: et ad ultimum Jovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander assereret, oraculum eludens, veriora se Regi, quàm patrem ejus, respondisse dicebat.

6. ³⁷ Jam tantum iræ conceperat Rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset. Enimverò mero olim sensibus victis, ex lecto repentè prosiluit. Attoniti amici, ne positis quidem, sed abjectis poculis, consurgunt; in eventum rei, quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. Alexander, raptâ lanceâ ex manibus armigeri, Clitum adhuc eâdem linguæ intemperantiâ furentem percutere conatus, a Ptolemæo et Perdiceâ inhibetur. ³⁸ Medium complexi, et obluetari perseverantem, morabantur: Lysimachus et Leonatus etiam lanceam abstulerant. Ille militum fidem implorans, comprehendi se a proximis amicorum, ³⁹ quod Dario nuper accidisset, exclamat: signumque tubâ dari, ut ad regiam armati coirent, jubet. Tum verò Ptolemæus et Perdiceas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam præcipiti irâ perseveret, spatiumque potiùs animo det: omnia postero die justius executurum. Sed clausæ erant aures, obstrepente irâ. Itaque ⁴⁰ impotens animi, percurrit in regiæ vestibulum, et, vigili exubanti hastâ ablatâ, constitit in ⁴¹ aditu, quo necesse erat iis, qui simul cœnaverant, egredi. Abierant cæteri: Clitus

ultimus sine lumine exibat. Quem Rex, quisnam esset, inter rogat. ⁴² Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. Et ille jam non suæ, sed Regis iræ memor, Clitum esse, et de convivio exire respondit. Hæc dicentis latus hastâ transfixit, morientisque sanguine aspersus, “I nunc,” inquit, “ad Philippum, et Parmenionem, et Attalum.”

II. 7. ¹ Malè humanis ingeniis natura consuluit, quòd plerumque non futura, sed transacta perpendimus. Quippe Rex postquàm ira mente decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussâ, magnitudinem facinoris ² serâ æstimatione perspexit. ³ Videbat, tunc immodicâ libertate abusum, sed alioqui egregium bello, virum, et, nisi erubesceret fateri, servatorem suî, occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministerium occupaverat Rex, verborum licentiam, quæ vino poterat imputari, nefandâ cæde ultus. Manabat toto vestibulo cruor ⁴ paulò antè convivæ: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant, ⁵ liberiorumque pœnitentiam solitudo excipiebat. Ergò hastam ex corpore jacentis evulsam retorsit in semet: jamque admovent pectori, cùm advolant vigiles, et repugnanti e manibus extorquent, allevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. Ille humi postraverat corpus; gemitu ejulatuque miserabili totâ personante regiâ. Laniare deinde os unguibus, et circumstantes rogare ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur. Inter has preces tota nox ⁶ extracta est: scrutantemque, num irâ Deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset, ⁷ subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero patri non esse redditum stato tempore. Itaque inter vinum et epulas cæde commissâ, iram Dei fuisse manifestam.

8. ⁸ Cæterùm magis eò movebatur, quòd omnium amicorum animos videbat attonitos: neminem cum ipso sociare sermonem postea ausurum. ⁹ Vivendum esse in solitudine, velut feræ bestię ¹⁰ terrenti alias, alias timenti. Primâ deindè luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc eruentum erat, jussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum, ¹¹ lacrymis obortis, “Hanc,” inquit, “nutrici meæ gratiam retuli, cujus duo filii apud Miletum pro meâ gloriâ occubuere mortem; hic frater, unicum orbitatis sola

tium, a me inter epulas occisus est. Quò nunc se conferet misera? ¹² Omnibus ejus unus supersum, quem solum æquis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego, servatorum meorum latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dextram quidem nutrici, ¹³ sine memoriâ calamitatis ejus, offerre possim!" Et cùm finis lacrymis querelisque non fieret, jussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. Rex triduum jacuit inclusus. Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum irrumpunt, diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum agrè vicerunt ut cibum caperet. Quoque minùs cædis puderet, jure interfectum Clitum Macedones decernunt, sepulturâ quoque prohibitori, ni Rex humari jussisset. Igitur decem diebus, ¹⁴ maximè ad confirmandum pudorem, apud Maracanda consumptis, cum parte exercitûs Hephæstionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, comœatus in hyemem paraturum. Quam Clito autem destinaverat provinciam, Amyntæ dedit.

9. Ipse Xenippa pervenit. Seythiæ confinis est regio, habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis; quia ubertas terræ non indigenas modò detinet, sed etiam advenas invitat. Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receptaculum fuerat. Sed postquàm Regem adventare comperit, pulsus ab incolis duo millia ferò et ducenti ¹⁵ congregantur. Omnes equites erant, etiam in pace latrociniiis assueti. Tum ferocia ingenia non bellum modò, sed etiam veniæ desperatio efferaverat. Itaque ex improvise adorti Amyntam Prætorem Alexandri, diù anceps prælium fecerant. Ad ultimum septingentis suorum amissis, quorum ccc hostis cepit, dedère terga victoribus haud sanò inulti: quippe lxxx Macedonum interfecerunt, præterque eos trecenti et quinquaginta saucii facti sunt: veniam tamen etiam post ¹⁶ alteram defectionem impetraverunt. His in fidem acceptis, in regionem, quam *Nautaca* appellant, Rex cum toto exercitu venit. Satrapes erat Sysimithres, duobus ex suâ matre filiis genitis: quippe apud eos parentibus stupro coire cum liberis fas est.

¹⁷ Is, armatis popularibus, fauces regionis, quâ in arctissimum

cogitur, valido munimento sepserat. ¹⁸Præterfluebat torrens amnis, qui terga Petrae claudebat: hanc manu perviam incolæ fecerant. Sed aditus specus accipit lucem: interiora, nisi illato lumine, obscura sunt. ¹⁹Perpetuus cuniculus iter præbet in campos ignotum, nisi indigenis. At Alexander, quanquam angustias naturali situ munitas validâ manu Barbari tuebantur, tamen arietibus admotis, ²⁰munimenta, quæ manu adjuncta erant, concussit, fundisque et sagittis propugnantium plerosque dejecit: quos ubi dispersos fugavit, ruinas munimentorum supergressus, ad Petram admovit exercitum.

10. Cæterùm interveniebat fluvius coëuntibus aquis ex superiore fastigio in vallem, magnique operis videbatur tam vastam voraginem explere. Cædi tamen arbores, et saxa congeri jussit. Ingensque Barbaros pavor rudes ad talia opera concusserat, excitatam molem subitò cernentes. Itaque Rex ad deditionem metu posse compelli ratus, Oxarten misit nationis ejusdem, sed ditionis suæ, qui suaderet duci ut traderet Petram. Interim ad augendam formidinem, et turres admovebantur, et excussa tormentis tela ²¹emicabant. Itaque verticem Petrae, ²²omni alio præsidio damnato, petiverunt. At Oxartes trepidum diffidentemque rebus suis Sysmithrem cœpit hortari, ²³ut fidem, quàm vim Macedonum, mallet experiri; neu moraretur festinationem victoris exercitus in Indiam tendentis: ²⁴cui quisquis semet offerret, in suum caput alienam eladem esse versurum. Et ipse quidem Sysmithres ²⁵deditionem annuebat: cæterùm mater eademque conjux morituram se antè denunciâns quàm in ullius veniret potestatem, Barbari animum ad honestiora quàm tutiora converterat: pudebatque libertatis majus esse apud fœminas, quàm apud viros, ²⁶pretium. Itaque dimisso internuncio pacis, obsidionem ferre decreverat. Sed cùm hostis vires suasque pensaret, rursus muliebris consilii, quod ²⁷præceps magis quàm necessarium esse credebat, pœnitere eum cœpit. Revocatoque strenuè Oxarte, futurum se in Regis potestate respondit: unum precatus, ne voluntatem et consilium matris suæ proderet, quò faciliùs venia illi quoque impetraretur. Præmis-

sum igitur Oxartem cum matre liberisque, et totius cognationis grege sequebatur, ne exspectato quidem ²⁸ fidei pignore, quod Oxartes promiserat.

11. Rex, equite præmisso, qui reverti eos juberet, opperiri que præsentiam ipsius, ²⁹ supervenit, et victimis Minervæ ac Victoriæ cæsis, imperium Sysimithri restituit, ³⁰ spe majoris etiam provinciæ factâ, si cum fide amicitiam ipsius coluisset. Duos illi juvenes patre tradente, secum militaturos sequi jussit. Relictâ deindè phalange, ad subigendos qui defeecerant, cum equite processit. Arduum et impeditum saxis iter primò ³¹ utcumque tolerabant. Mox equorum non ungulis modò attritis, sed corporibus etiam fatigatis, sequi plerique non poterant, et rarius subinde agmen fiebat, pudorem ³² (ut ferè fit) immodico labore vincente. Rex tamen subinde equos mutans, sine intermissione fugientes insequabatur. Nobiles juvenes comitari cum soliti ³³ defeecerant, præter Philippum; Lysimachi erat frater, tùm primùm adultus, et quod facilè appareret, indolis raræ. Is pedos (incredibile dictu) per ducenta stadia ³⁴ vectum Regem comitatus est, sæpe equum suum offerente Lysimacho: nec tamen ut digrederetur a Rege effici potuit, ³⁵ cùm loricâ indutus arma gestaret. Idem, cùm perventum esset in saltum, in quo se Barbari abdiderant, nobilem edidit pugnam, Regemque cominûs cum hoste dimicantem protexit. Sed postquàm Barbari in fugam effusi deseruère sylvas, animus, qui in ardore pugnae corpus sustentaverat, liquit: subitoque ex omnibus membris profuso sudore, arboris proximæ stipiti ³⁶ se applicuit. Deindè, ne illo quidem adminiculo sustinente manibus Regis exceptus est; inter quas collapsus extinguitur. Mœstum Regem alius haud levis dolor excepit. Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat, quem extinctum esse, paulò antè quàm reverteretur in castra, cognovit. Utriusque funus omni apparatu atque honore celebratum est.

III. 12. Dahas deindè statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenem esse cognoverat. ¹ Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna, indulgendo ei nunquam fatigata,

pro absente transegit. Spitamenes uxoris immodicæ amore flagrabat; quam ægrè fugam et nova subinde exilia tolerantem in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. Illa, malis fatigata, identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tandem fugam sisteret, victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus, placaret quem effugere non posset. Tres adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti: quos cùm pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat. ² Et quò efficaciores essent preces, haud procul erat Alexander. ³ Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus, et formæ profectò fiduciâ cupere eam quamprimùm dedi Alexandro, aciuacem strinxit, percussurus uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset fratrum ejus occurso. Cæterùm abire conspectu jubet, addito metu mortis, si se oculis ejus obtulisset; et ad desiderium levandum noctes inter pelliceas agere cœpit. Sed penitèns hærens amor ⁴ fastidio præsentium accensus est. Itaque rursus uni ei deditus, orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret, patereturque sortem, quaecumque eis fortuna fecisset: sibi mortem deditioe esse leviozem. At illa purgare se, ⁵ quòd quæ utilia esse censebat, muliebriter forsitan, sed fidâ tamen mente suasisset: ⁶ de cætero futuram in viri potestate.

13. Spitamenes simulato captus obsequio ⁷ de die convivium apparari jubet: vinoque et epulis gravis, semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. Quem ut ⁸ alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, stringit; caputque ejus abscissum cruore respersa servo suo conscio facinoris tradit. Eodem comitante (sicut erat cruentâ veste) in Macedonum castra pervenit, nunciarique Alexandro jubet, esse, quæ ex ipsâ deberet agnoscere. Ille protinus Barbaram jussit admitti. Quam ut aspersam cruore conspexit, ratus ad deplorandam contumeliam venisse, dicere quæ vellet, jubet. At illa, servum quem stare in vestibulo jusserat, introduci desideravit. Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus, scrutantibus quid occuleret, ostendit. Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor, nec quis esset nosci satis poterat. Ergò Rex certior factus humanum caput afferre

eum, tabernaculo excessit, perecontatusque quid rei sit, ² illo profitente cognoscit. Variæ hinc cogitationes invicem animum diversa agitantem commoverant. ¹⁰ Meritum ingens in semet esse credebat, quòd transfuga, et proditor, tantis rebus (si vixisset) injecturus moram, interfectus esset. Contrà facinus ingens aversabatur, cùm optimè meritum de ipsâ. communium parentem liberorum, per insidias interemisset. ¹¹ Vicit tamen gratiam meriti sceleris atrocitas, denunciarique jussit ut excederet castris, neu licentiæ Barbaræ exemplar in Græcorum mores et mitia ingenia transferret. Dahæ, Spitamenis eadē compertâ, Dataphernem defectionis ejus participem vinctum Alexandro, seque dedunt. Ille maximâ præsentium curarum parte liberatus, convertit animum ad vindicandas injurias eorum, quibus a Prætoribus suis avarè ac superbè imperabatur. Ergò Phratapherni Hyrcaniam, et Mardos cum Tapyris tradidit, mandavitque ut Phradatem, cui succedebat, ad se in eustodiam mitteret. Arsani Drancarum Præfecto substitutus est Stasanor. Arsaces in Mediam missus, ut Oxydates inde discederet. Babylonia, mortuo Mazæo, Stameni subiecta est.

IV. 14. His compositis, tertio mense ex hybernis movit exercitum, regionem, quæ Gabaza appellatur, aditurus. Primus dies quietum iter præbuit: proximus ei, nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristino, non sine minis crescentis mali præteriit. Tertio ab omni parte cœli emicare fulgura, et nunc internitente luce, nunc conditâ, non oculos modò meantis exercitûs, sed etiam animos ¹ terrere cœperunt. Erat propè continuus cœli fragor, et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur: attonitisque auribus stupens agmen, nec progredi, nec considerare audebat. Tum repentè imber, grandinem incutiens, torrentis modo effunditur. Ac primò quidem armis suis tecti ² exceperant. Sed jam nec retinere arma lubricæ et rigentes manus poterant, ³ nec ipsi destinare in quam regionem obverterent corpora, cùm undique tempestatis violentia major, quàm vitabatur, occurreret. Ergò ordinibus solutis, per totum saltum erra-

bundum agmen ferebatur, multique priùs metu quàm labore defatigati, prostraverant humi corpora, ⁴ quanquam imbrem vis frigoris concreto gelu astrinxerat. Alii se stipitibus arborum admovent: id plurimis adminiculum et suffugium erat. ⁵ Nec fallebat ipsos, morti locum eligere, cùm immobiles vitalis calor linqueret. Sed grata erat pigritia corporum fatigatis, nec recusabant extinguì quiescendo. Quippe non vehemens modò, sed etiam ⁶ pertinax vis mali insistebat, ⁷ lucemque, naturale solatium, præter tempestatem haud disparem nocti, sylvarum quoque umbra suppresserat.

15. Rex unus tanti mali patiens, circumire milites, contrahere dispersos, allevare prostratos, ostendere procul evolutum ex tuguriis fumum, hortarique, ut proxima quæque suffugia occuparent. ⁸ Nec ulla res magis saluti fuit, quàm quòd multiplicato labore sufficientem malis, quibus ipsi cesserant, Regem deserere erubescabant. Cæterùm efficacior in adversis necessitas, quàm ratio, frigoris remedium invenit. Dolabris enim sylvas sternere aggressi, passim acervos struesque accenderunt. Continenti incendio ardere crederes saltum, et vix inter flammæ agminibus relictum locum. Hic calor stupentia membra ⁹ commovit, paulatimque spiritus, quem continuerat ¹⁰ rigor, meare liberè cœpit. Excepère alios tecta Barbarorum, quæ in ultimo saltu abdita necessitas investigaverat; alios castra, quæ in humido quidem, sed jam cœli mitescente sævitiâ, locaverunt. Mille militum atque lixarum calorumque ¹¹ pestis illa consumpsit. Memoriae proditum est quosdam applicatos arborum truncis, et non solùm viventibus, sed et inter se colloquentibus similes esse conspectos; durante adhuc ¹² habitu, in quo mors quemque deprehenderat. Fortè Macedo gregarius miles, seque et arma ¹³ sustentans, tandem in castra pervenerat. Quo viso, Rex, quanquam ipse tunc maximè admoto igne refovebat artus, ex sellâ suâ exsilnit, torpentemque militem, et vix compotem mentis, demptis armis, in suâ sede jussit considerare. Ille diu, nec ubi requiesceret, nec a quo esset exceptus, agnovit. Tandem recepto calore vitali, ut regiam sedem Regemque vidit, territus surgit.

Quem intuens Alexander, "Ecquid intelligis, miles," inquit, "quanto meliore sorte, quàm Persæ, sub Rege vivatis? illis enim in sellâ Regis consedissee capital foret, tibi salutis fuit." Postero die convocatis amicis copiarumque ducibus, pronunciari jussit, ipsum omnia quæ amissa essent redditurum; ¹⁴ et promisso fides extitit. Nam Sysimithres multa jumenta et camelorum duo millia adduxit, pecoraque et armenta, quæ distributa, pariter militem et damno et fame liberaverunt. ¹⁵ Rex gratiam sibi relataam a Sysimithre præfatus, sex dierum cocta cibaria ferre milites jussit, Sacas petens: totam hanc regionem depopulatus, triginta millia pecorum ex prædâ Sysimithri dono dat.

16. Inde pervenit in regionem, cui Oxyartes Satrapes nobilis præerat, qui se Regis potestati fideique permisit. Ille imperio ei reddito, haud ampliùs, quàm ut duo ex tribus filiis secum militarent, exegit. Satrapes etiam eum, qui penes ipsum relinquebatur, tradit. Barbarâ opulentiâ convivium, quo Regem accipiebat, instruxerat. Id eùm multâ comitate celebraret, introduci triginta nobiles virgines jussit. Inter quas erat filia ipsius, Roxane nomine, eximiâ corporis specie et ¹⁶ decore habitûs in Barbaris raro. Quæ, quanquàm inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se, maximè Regis, ¹⁷ minùs jam cupiditatibus suis imperantis inter obsequia fortunæ, contra quam non satis cauta mortalitas est. Itaque ille, qui uxorem Darii, qui duas filias virgines, quibus formâ præter Roxanem comparari nulla poterat, haud alio animo quàm parentis aspexerat; ¹⁸ tunc in amorem virgunculæ, si regiæ stirpi compararetur, ignobilis, ita effusus est, ut diceret, ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere, Persas et Macedonas connubio jungi: hoc uno modo et pudorem victis, et superbiam victoribus detrahi posse: Achillem quoque, a quo genus ipse deduceret, eum captivâ coisse. Ne inferri nefas arbitrarentur, ¹⁹ ita matrimonii jure velle jungi. Insuperato gaudio lætus pater, sermonem ejus excepit: et Rex medio cupiditatis ardore jussit afferri patrio more panem, (hoc erat apud Macedonas sanctissimum coeuntium pignus) quem divi-

sum gladio uterque libabat. Credo, eos qui gentis mores condiderunt, pareo et parabili victu ostendere voluisse ²⁰ jungentibus opes, quantulo contenti esse deberent. Hoc modo Rex Asiæ et Europæ, introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adjunxit, e captivâ geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. Pudebat amicos, super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse electum. Sed post Cliti cædem libertate sublata, vultu, ²¹ qui maximè servit, assentiebantur.

V. 17. Cæterùm Indiam, et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod ¹ destinata impedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis triginta millia juniorum legi jussit, et ad se armata perducere, obsides simul habiturus et milites. Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanem et Catenem, qui ab ipso defecerant misit; quorum Haustanes captus est, Catenes in prælio occisus. Polyspercon quoque regionem, quæ Bubacene appellatur, in ditionem redegit. Itaque omnibus compositis, cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur, non auro modò, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad ² luxum magis, quàm ad magnificentiam, exulta. ³ Viri equique militares auro et ebore fulgere dicebantur. Itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum cæteris præstaret, scutis argenteas laminas, equis frænos aureos addidit; loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. Centum viginti millia armatorum erant, quæ Regem ad id bellum sequebantur. Jamque omnibus præparatis, ⁴ quod olim pravâ mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum ratus, quonam modo cœlestes honores usurparet, cœpit agitare. Jovis filium non diei tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat, tanquam ⁵ perinde animis imperare posset, ac linguis. Itaque more Persarum Macedonas ⁶ venerabundos ipsum salutare, prosternentes humi corpora, jussit. Non deerat talia concupiscenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum malum Regum, quorum opes sæpius assentatio quàm hostis evertit. Nec Macedonum hæc erat culpa ⁷ (nemo enim illorum quidquam ex patrio more labare sustinuit), sed ⁸ Græcorum, qui professionem ⁹ honestarum artium malis corruperant moribus.

18. Agis, quidam Argivus, (pessimorum carminum ¹⁰ post Chœrilum conditor,) et ex Sicilia Cleo, (hic quidem, non ingenii solùm, sed etiam nationis vitio, adulator,) et cætera urbium suarum purgamenta, quæ propinquis etiam, maximorumque exercituum ducibus, a Rege præferebantur; ¹¹ hi tum cœlum illi aperiebant, Herculemque et patrem Liberum, et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini ¹² cessuros esse jactabant. Igitur festo die omni opulentiâ convivium exornari jubet, cui non Macedones modò, et Græci principes amicorum, sed etiam Barbari nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cùm discubisset Rex, paulisper epulatus, convivio egreditur. Cleo, sicut præparaverat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum ejus instituit. Merita deindè perecussit; quibus uno modo referri gratia posset, si, quem intelligerent Deum esse, confiterentur, exiguâ thuris impensâ tanta beneficia pensaturi. Persas quidem non piè solùm, sed etiam prudenter, Reges suos inter Deos colere: ¹³ majestatem enim imperii, salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et patrem Liberum priùs dicatos Deos, quàm vicissent ¹⁴ secum viventium invidiam. Tantùmdem quoque posteros credere, quantùm præsens ætas ¹⁵ spondisset. Quòd si cæteri dubitent, semetipsum, cùm Rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus; debere idem facere cæteros, et in primis sapientiâ præditos. Ab illis enim cultus in Regem esse prodendum exemplum.

19. Haud perplexè in Calisthenem dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et ¹⁶ prompta libertas invisa erat Regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur. Is tum, silentio facto, unum illum intuentibus cæteris, "Si Rex," inquit, "sermoni tuo affuisset, nullius profectò vox responsuri tibi desideraretur. Ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos externosque ritus degenerare se cogeret, neu rebus felicissimè gestis ¹⁷ invidiam tali adulatione contraheres. Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo. ¹⁸ Nullum esse eundem et diuturnum, et præcoecum fructum: cœlestesque honores non dare te Regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur Deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posteri reddunt.

Ego autem seram immortalitatem precor Regi, ut et vita diuturna sit, et æterna majestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, nunquam comitatur divinitas. Herculem ¹⁹ modò, et patrem Liberum, consecratæ immortalitatis exempla, referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto Deos factos? Priùs ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quàm in cælum fama pervheret. ²⁰ Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, Deos facimus! A nobis divinitatis suæ auctoritatem accepturus est Rex! ²¹ Potentiam tuam experiri libet. Fac aliquem Regem, si Deum potes facere. ²² Faciliùs est imperium dare, quàm cælum. ²³ Dii propitii sine invidiâ, quæ Cleo dixit, audierint, eodemque cursu, quo fluxère adhuc res, ire patiantur: nostris moribus velint nos esse contentos. Non pudet patriæ; nec desidero, ad quem modum Rex mihi colendus sit, a victis discere. Quos equidem victores esse confiteor, si ab illis leges, queis vivamus, accipimus."

20. Æquis auribus Calisthenes, veluti vindex publicæ libertatis, audiebatur. ²⁴ Expresserat non assensionem modò, sed etiam vocem, seniorum præcipuè, quibus gravis erat inveterati moris externa mutatio. Nec quidquam ²⁵ eorum, quæ invicem jactata erant, Rex ignorabat, cùm post aulaem, quæ lectos obduxerat, staret. Igitur ad Agim et Cleonem misit, ut sermone finito, Barbaros tantùm, cùm intràsset, procumbere suo more paterentur. Et paulò post, ²⁶ quasi potiora quædam egisset, convivium repetit. Quem venerantibus Persis, Polyspercon, qui cubabat ²⁷ super Regem, unum ex his mento contingentem humum per ludibrium cœpit hortari, ut vehementiùs id quateret ad terram: elicuitque iram Alexandri, quam ²⁸ olim animo capere non poterat. Itaque Rex, "Tu autem," inquit, "non veneraberis me? An tibi uni digni vide-mur esse ludibrio?" Ille ²⁹ nec Regem ludibrio, nec se contemptu dignum esse respondit. Tum detractum cum lecte Rex præcipitat in terram. Et cùm is pronus corruisset, "Videsne," inquit, "idem te fecisse, quod in alio paulò autè ridebas?" Et tradi eo in custodiam jusso, convivium solvit. Polysperconti quidem postea, castigato diu, ignorit.

VI. 21. ¹ In Calisthenem olim contumaciâ suspectum, perviciacioris iræ fuit, ejus explendæ matura obvenit occasio. Mos erat (ut suprâ dictum est) principibus Macedonum, adultos liberos Regibus tradere, ² ad munia haud multum servilibus ministeriis abhorrentia. Excubabant, ³ servatis noctium vicibus, proximi foribus ejus ædis, in quâ Rex acquiescebat. Iidem acceptos ab agasonibus equos, cum Rex ascensurus esset, ⁴ admovebant, comitabanturque et venantem, et in præliis; omnibus artibus studiorum liberalium exculiti. Præcipuus honor habebatur, quod licebat sedentibus vesci cum Rege. Castigandi verberibus eos nullius potestas præter ipsum erat. Hæc cohors velut seminarium ducum præfectorumque apud Macedonas fuit. Hinc habuere posteri Reges, quorum ⁵ stirpibus post multas ætates Romani opes ademערunt. ⁶ Igitur Hermolaüs, puer nobilis ex regiâ cohorte, ⁷ cum aprum telo occupasset, quem Rex ferire destinaverat, jussu ejus verberibus affectus est. Quam ignominiam ægrè ferens, deflere apud Sostratum cœpit. Ex eadem cohorte erat Sostratus, amore ejus ardens: qui cum laceratum ⁸ corpus, in quo deperibat, intueretur, forsitan olim ob aliam quoque causam Regi infestus, juvenem suâ sponte jam motum, datâ fide, acceptaque perpulit, ut occidendi Regem consilium secum iniret. Nec ⁹ puerili impetu rem exsecuti sunt: quippe solerter legērunt, quos in societatem secleris asciscerent: Nicostratum, Antipatrum, Aselepiodurumque, et Philotam placuit assumi. Per hos adjecti sunt Anticles, Elaptonius et Epimenes.

22. Cæterum agendæ rei haud sanè facilis patebat via. Opus erat eadem omnes conjuratos nocte excubare, ne ab expertibus consilii impedirentur. Fortè autem alius aliâ nocte excubabat. Itaque in permutandis stationum vicibus, cæteroque apparatu exsequendæ rei, triginta et duo dies absumpti sunt. Aderat nox, quâ conjurati excubare debebant, mutuâ fide læti, ejus documentum tot dies fuerant. Neminem metus spesve mutaverat; tanta omnibus vel in Regem ira, vel fides inter ipsos fuit. Stabant igitur ad fores ædis ejus, in quâ Rex veseebatur, ut convivio egressum in cubiculum de-

ducerent. Sed fortuna ipsius, simulque epulantium ¹⁰ comitas provexit omnes ad largius vinum. Ludi etiam convivales extraxere tempus: nunc lactis conjuratis, quod sopitum aggressuri essent: nunc sollicitis ne in lucem convivium extraheretur. Quippe alios in stationem oportebat primâ luce succedere, ipsorum post septem dies rediturâ vice. Nec sperare poterant, in illud tempus omnibus duraturam fidem. Cæterum, cum jam lux appeteret, et convivium solvitur, et conjurati exceperunt Regem læti occasionem exequendi sceleris admotam; cum mulier ¹¹ attonitæ, ut creditum est, mentis, ¹² conversari in regiâ solita, quia ¹³ instinctu videbatur futura prædicere, non occurrit modò abeunti, sed etiam semet objecit, vultuque et oculis motum præferens animi, ut rediret in convivium monuit; et ille per ludum, benè Deos suadere, respondit: revocatisque amicis, in horam dici fermè secundam convivii tempus extrahit.

23. Jam alii ex cohorte in stationem successerant, ante cubiculi fores excubaturi. Adhuc tamen conjurati stabant, vice officii sui expletâ: adeò pertinax est spes, quam humanæ mentes foverunt. Rex benigniùs quàm aliàs allocutus, discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam totâ nocte perstitissent, jubet: data sunt singulis quinquaginta sestertia: collaudatis quoque quod etiam aliis traditâ vice, tamen excubare perseverâssent. Illi tantâ spe destituti domos abeunt: et cæteri quidem expectabant stationis suæ noctem; Epimenes, sive comitate Regis, quâ ¹⁴ ipsum inter conjuratos exceperat, repentè mutatus; sive quia cœptis Deos obstare credebatur, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. Omnibus Philotæ supplicium in oculis erat. Itaque protinùs injicit fratri manum, et in regiam pervenit: excitatisque custodibus corporis, ad salutem Regis pertinere, quæ afferret, affirmat. Et tempus quo venerant, et vultus haud sanè securi animi index, et mœstitia e duobus alterius, Ptolemæum ac Leonatum, excubantes ad cubiculi linnen, excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus et lumine illato, sopitum mero ac somno excitant Regem.

Ille, paulatim mente collectâ, quid afferrent, interrogat. Nec cunctatus Euryloclus, non ex toto domum suam aversari Deos, dixit: quia frater ipsius, quanquam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et ¹⁶ pœnitentiam ejus ageret, et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium: in eam ipsam noctem, quâ decederet, insidias comparatas fuisse. Auctores scelesti consilii esse, quos minimè crederet Rex. Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine, consciorumque nomina exponit.

24. Calisthenem non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed ¹⁶ solitum puerorum sermonibus, vituperantium criminantiumque Regem, faciles aures præbere. Quidam adjiciunt, cùm Hermolaüs apud eum quoque verberatum se a Rege quereretur, dixisse Calisthenem, meminisse debere eos jam viros esse. Idque an ¹⁷ ad consolandam patientiam verberum, an ad incitandum juvenum ¹⁸ dolorem dictum esset, in ambiguo fuisse. Rex animi corporisque sopore discussus, cùm tanti periculi quod evaserat imago oculis oberraret, Euryloclum quinquaginta talentis, et cujusdam Tyridatis opulenti bonis donat protinùs: fratremque, antequàm pro salute ejus precaretur, restituit. Secleris autem auctores, interque eos Calisthenem, vinetos asservari jubet. Quibus in Regiam adductis, toto die et nocte proximâ mero ac vigiliis gravis acquievit. Postero autem die, frequens concilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquire eorum, ¹⁹ de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de suâ quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant, omnium devotis capitibus, qui sanguine contigissent eos. Rex introduci conjuratos, præter Calisthenem, jussit: atque quæ agitaverant sine cunctatione confessi sunt. Increpantibus deinde universis eos, ipse Rex, "quo suo merito tantum in semet cogitassent facinus?" interrogat.

VII. 25. Stupentibus cæteris, Hermolaüs, "Nos verò," inquit, "quoniam, quasi nescias, quæris, occidendi te consilium inivimus, quia non ut ¹ ingenuis imperare cœpisti, sed quasi in mancipia dominaris." Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius, Solpolis, parricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse, consurgit; et ad os manu objectâ, seclere et malis insanientem ultrâ

negat audiendum. Rex, inhibito patre, dicere Hermolaum jubet, quæ ex magistro didicisset Calisthene. Et Hermolaus, "Utor," inquit, "beneficio tuo, et dico quæ nostris malis didici. ²Quota pars Macedonum sævitiae tuæ superest? Quotus quidem non e vilissimo sanguine? Attalus, et Philotas, et Parmenio, et Lyncestes Alexander, et Clitus, ³quantum ad hostes pertinet, vivunt; stant in acie, te elypeis suis protegunt, et pro gloriâ tuâ, pro victoriâ vulnera accipiunt: quibus tu egregiam gratiam retulisti. Alius mensam tuam sanguine suo aspersit. Alius ne ⁴simplici quidem morte defunctus est. Duces exercituum tuorum in equuleum impositi, Persis, quos vicerant, fuere spectaculo. Parmenio, indietâ causâ, trucidatus est, per quem Attalum occideras. Invicem enim miserrorum uteris manibus ⁵ad expetenda supplicia. Et quos paulò antè ministros cædis habuisti, subito ab aliis jubes trucidari." Obstreperunt deindè cuncti Hermolao. Pater supremum strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubiè, nì inhibitus esset a Rege: quippe Hermolaum dicere jussit; petiitque, ut causas supplicii augentem patienter audirent.

26. Ægrè ergò coërcitis, rursus Hermolaus, "Quàm liberaliter," inquit, "pueris rudibus ad dicendum agere permittis! At Calisthenis vox carcere inclusa est, quia solus potest dicere. Cur enim non producit, cùm etiam confessi audiuntur? Nempè quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis, ac ne vultum quidem pateris. Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hîc qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt. Nemo est, qui conscium fuisse nobis Calisthenem dicat, cùm mortî olim destinatus sit a ⁶justissimo et patientissimo Rege. ⁷Hæc ergo sunt Macedonum præmia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi triginta millia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cùm milites nihil domum præter ⁸gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint. Quæ tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos Barbaris dederes, et ⁹novo more victores sub jugum mitteres. Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat, patrios mores exosus es. Persarum ergò, non Macedonum Regem occidere volumus: et te trans-

fugam, belli jure, persequimur. Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibi ponere, venerarique te ut Deum. Tu Philippum patrem ¹⁰aversaris, et si quis Deorum ante Jovem haberetur, fastidires etiam Jovem. Miraris si liberi homines superbiam tuam ferre non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum est, aut, quod tristius morte est, in servitute vivendum? Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire cœpisti quod ingenui homines ferre non possunt. De cætero parce his, quorum orbam senectutem suppliciiis ne oneraveris. Nos jube ¹¹duci, ut quod ex tuâ morte petieramus, consequamur ex nostrâ.”

Hæc Hermolaüs.

VIII. 27. At Rex, “Quàm falsa sint,” inquit, “quæ iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, patientia mea ostendit. ¹Confessum enim ultimum facinus, tamen ut vos quoque, non solum ipse, audiretis, expressi; ²non imprudens, cum permissem huic latroni dicere, usurum cum rabie, quâ compulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, vellet occidere.”.

“Nuper cum procaciùs se in venatione gessisset, more patrio, et ab antiquissimis Macedoniæ Regibus usurpato, castigari cum jussi. Hoc et oportet ferri, et ferunt a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores: servis quoque pueros hujus ætatis verberare concedimus. Hæc est sævitia in ipsum mea, quam impiâ cæde voluit ulcisci. Nam in cæteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quàm mitis sim, non ignoratis, et commemorare supervacuum est.”

“Hermolao parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, minimè hereule admiror. Nam cum Parmenionem et Philotam laudat, suæ servit causæ. Lyncestem verò Alexandrum bis insidiatum capiti meo a duobus indiciis liberavi. Rursus convictum, per biennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis ut tandem debito supplicio scelus lueret. Attalum, antequàm Rex essem, hostem meo capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci: cujus temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis, diutius tuli,

quàm ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. Regum ducumque clementia non in ipsorum modò, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingeniis sita est. Obsequio mitigantur imperia: ubi verò reverentia excessit animis, et summa imis confundimus, vi opus est, ut vim repellamus."

"Sed quid ego mirer, ³ istum crudelitatem mihi objecisse, qui avaritiam exprobrare ausus sit? Nolo singulos vestrum excitare, ne invisam liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fecero. Totum exercitum aspiciate. Qui paulò antè nihil præter arma habebant, nunc argenteis cubant lectis, mensas auro onerant, greges servorum ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt."

"At enim Persæ, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Equidem moderationis meæ certissimum indicium est, quòd ne victis quidem superbè impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditùs everterem gentes, nec ut dimidiam partem terrarum solitudinem facerem: sed ut illos, quos bello subegissem, victoriæ meæ non pœniteret. Itaque militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui ⁶ superbè habiti rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur; beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. Si habere Asiam, ⁶ non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra clementia. Horum fides stabile et æternum faciet imperium: et sane plus habemus, quàm capimus. Insatiabilis autem avaritia est, adhuc implere velle, quod jam circumfluit."

"⁷ Verumtamen eorum mores in Macedonas transfundo. In multis ⁸ enim gentibus esse video quæ non erubescamus imitari. Nec aliter tantum imperium aptè regi potest, quàm ut quædam et tradamus illis, et ab iisdem discamus."

"Illud penè dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut aversarer Jovem, ejus oraculo agnoscor. An etiam quid Dii respondeant, in meâ potestate est? Obtulit nomen filii mihi: ⁹ recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me credant. Famâ

enim bella constant, ¹⁰ et sæpe etiam quod falsò creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit."

"¹¹ An me luxuriæ indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornâsse? Assuetis nihil vilius hâc videre materiâ volui ostendere, Macedonas, invictos cæteris, ne auro quidem vinci. Oculos ergò primùm eorum sordida omnia et humilia spectantium capiam, et docebo nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venisse. Quam gloriam tu, parricida, intercipere voluisti, et Macedonas, Rege adempto, devictis gentibus dedere."

"At nunc mones me, ut vestris parentibus parcam. Non oportebat quidem vos scire, quid de his statuisssem, quò tristiciores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria et cura est. Sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos parentesque ¹² solvi: et profiteor in eodem honore futuros omnes eos, in quo fuerunt."

"Nam tuum Calisthenem, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio cur produci velis; ut coram his probra, quæ modò in me jecisti, modò audisti, illius quoque ore referantur. Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum. Nunc Olynthio non idem juris est."

Post hæc concilium dimisit, tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eâdem cohorte erant, jussit. Illi, ut fidem suam sævitîæ Regi approbarent, excruciatos necaverunt. Calisthenes quoque tortus interiit, ¹³ initi consilii in caput Regis innoxius: sed haudquaquam aulæ et ¹⁴ assentantium accommodatus ingenio. Itaque nullius cædes majorem apud Græcos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quòd præditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, cum interfecto Clito mori perseveraret, non tantùm occiderit, sed etiam torserit, indictâ quidem causâ. Quam crudelitatem sera pœnitentia consecuta est.

IX. 28. Sed ne otium ferendis rumoribus natum aleret, in Indiam movit, semper bello quàm post victoriam clarior. ¹ India tota fermè spectat Orientem, minùs in latitudinem quàm rectâ regione spatiosa. ² Quæ Austrum accipiunt, in

altius terræ fastigium ³ excedunt. Plana sunt cætera, multisque inelytis amnibus ⁴ Caucaso monte ortis, placidum per campos iter præbent. Indus gelidior est, quàm cæteri. Aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. Ganges amnis ab ortu eximius, ad meridianam regionem decurrit, et magnorum montium juga recto alveo ⁵ stringit. Inde cum objectæ rupes inclinant ad Orientem. Utque rubro mari accipitur, ⁶ findens ripas, multas arbores cum magnâ soli parte exsorbet. Saxis quoque impeditus crebrò reverberatur. Ubi mollius solum reperit, stagnat, insulasque molitur. Acesines Indum auget: decursurum in mare intercipit: magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur. Quippe asperum os influenti objicit; nec repereussæ aquæ cedunt. Dyardenes minùs celeberrimus auditu est, quia per ultima Indiæ currit. Cæterùm non crocodilos modò, uti Nilus, sed etiam delphines, ignotasque aliis gentibus belluas alit. Erimanthus crebris flexibus subindè curvatus ab accolis rigantibus carpitur. Ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias jam sine nomine in mare emitat. Multis præter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, ⁷ quia non adeò interfluunt.

29. Cæterùm quæ propiora sunt mari, Aquilones maximè deurrunt. Ii, cohibiti jugis montium, ad interiora non penetrant, ita alendis frugibus mitia. Sed adeò in illâ plagâ mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut cùm alia fervore solis exæstuant, Indiani nives obruant: rursusque ubi cætera rigent, illic intolerandus æstus existat: nec aperuit se naturæ causa. Mare certè, quo alluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a cæteris. Ab Erythrâ Rege inditum est nomen, propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt. Terra lini ferax: indè plerisque sunt vestes. ⁸ Libri arborum teneri, haud secùs quàm chartæ, litterarum notas capiunt. Aves ad imitandum humanæ vocis sonum dociles sunt: animalia inusitata cæteris gentibus, nisi inveeta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas alit, ⁹ non generat. Elephantorum major est vis, quam quos in Africâ domitant; et viribus magnitudo respondet. Aurum flumina vehunt, quæ leni modicoque lapsu segnes aquas du-

cunt. Gemmas margaritasque mare littoribus infundit. Neque alia illis major opulentiae ¹⁰ causa est, ¹¹ utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteras gentes: quippe aestimantur purgamenta aestuantis freti pretio quod ¹² libido constituit. Ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos locorum quoque situs format. Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant. Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent: brachia quoque, et lacertos auro ¹³ colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. ¹⁴ Capillum pectunt saepius quam tondent: mentum semper intonsum est. Reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis exaquant.

30. Regum tamen ¹⁵ luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, supra omnium gentium vitia. Cum Rex se in publico conspici patitur, thuribula argentea ministri ferunt, totumque iter, per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus complent. Auream lecticam margaritis circumpendentibus recubat. ¹⁶ Distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes. Inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. Regia ¹⁷ auratas columnas habet; totas eas vitis ¹⁸ auro caelata percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maximè gaudent, argenteae effigies opera distingunt. Regia adeuntibus patet. Cum capillum pectit atque ornat, tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit. Demptis soleis, odoribus illinuntur pedes. ¹⁹ Venatus maximus labor est, inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pellicum figere. Binum cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nixu quam effectu: quippe telum, ejus in levitate vis omnis est, ²⁰ inhabili pondere oneratur. Breviora itinera equo conficit. Longior ubi expeditio est, elephantum vehunt currum, et tantarum belluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pellicum longus ordo sequitur. Separatum a Reginae ordine agmen est, aequatque luxuriam. Feminae epulas parant. Ab iisdem vinum ministratur, ejus omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem vero somnoque sopitum, in cubi-

culum pellices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes Deos.

31. Quis credat inter hæc vitia curam esse sapientiæ? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quos Sapientes vocant. Apud hos ²¹ occupare fati diem, pulchrum; et vivos se cremari jubent, quibus aut ²² segnis ætas, aut incommoda valetudo est: ²³ expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitæ habent. Nec ullus corporibus, quæ senectus solvit, honos redditur. Inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. ²⁴ Illi qui in urbibus publicis moribus degunt, siderum motus scitè spectare dicuntur, et futura prædicere. ²⁵ Nec quemquam admoveere lethi diem credunt, cui exspectare interrito liceat. Deos putant, quidquid colere cœperunt: arbores maximè, quas violare capital est. Menses in quinos denos descripserunt dies. ²⁶ Anni plena spatia servant. Lunæ cursu notant tempora, non ut pleriquè, cùm orbem sidus implevit, sed cùm se curvare cœpit in cornua; et idcirco breviores habent menses, qui spatium eorum ad hunc Lunæ modum dirigunt. Multa et alia traduntur, quibus morari ordinem rerum haud sanè ²⁷ operæ pretium videbatur.

X. 32. ¹ Igitur Alexandro fines Indiæ ingresso gentium suarum Reguli occurrerunt, imperata facturi: illum tertium Jove genitum ad ipsos pervenisse memorantes: Patrem Liberrum, atque Herculem famâ cognitos esse: ipsum coram adesse cernique. Rex benignè exceptos sequi jussit, ² iisdem itinerum ducibus usurus. Cæterùm eùm ampliùs nemo occurreret, Hephæstionem et Perdiceam cum copiarum parte præmisit, ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium: jussitque ad flumen Indum procedere, et navigia facere, quæ in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus. Illi, quia plura flumina superanda erant, sic junxere naves, ut solutæ plaustris veli possent, rursusque conjungi. Post se Cratero cum phalange jusso sequi, equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit, eosque qui occurrerant, levi prælio in urbem proximam compulit. ³ Jam supervenerat Craterus. Itaque ut principio terrorem incuteret, genti, nondum arma Macedonum expertæ, præcipit ne cui

parceretur; munimentis urbis, quam obsidebat, incensis. Cæterum dum obequitabat mœnibus, sagittâ ictus est. Cepit tamen oppidum, et omnibus incolis ejus trucidatis, etiam in tecta sævitum est. Indè domitâ ignobili gente, ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Fortè castris ante mœnia ipsa in sylvestri loco positis, nocturnum frigus vehementiùs quàm aliàs horrore corpora affecit, ⁴ opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est. Cæsis quippe sylvis flammam excitaverunt: quæ lignis alita oppidanorum sepulchra comprehendit. Vetustâ cedro facta erant, conceptumque ignem latè fudère, donec omnia solo æquata sunt. Et ex urbe primùm canum latratus, deindè etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tum et oppidani hostem, et Macedonas ipsos ad urbem venisse cognoscunt.

33. Jamque Rex eduxerat copias, et mœnia obsidebat, ⁵ cùm hostium, qui discrimen tentaverant, obruti telis sunt. Aliis ergò deditionem, aliis pugnam experiri placebat: quorum dubitatione compertâ, circumsideri tantum eos, et abstineri cædibus jussit. Tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidère se. A Libero patre conditos se esse dicebant; et vera hæc origo erat. Sita est sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolæ appellant. Indè Græci mentiendi traxère licentiam, Jovis femine Liberum patrem esse celatum. Rex, situ montis cognito ex incolis, cum toto exercitu, præmissis comitatibus, verticem ejus ascendit. Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte. Multæ perennes aquæ manant. ⁶ Pomorum quoque varii salubresque succi sunt, suâ sponte ⁷ fortuitorum seminum fruges humo nutriente. Lauri, baccarisque multa in illis rupibus agrestis est sylva. Credo equidem non divino instinctu, sed lasciviâ esse provectos, ut passim hederæ ac vitium folia decerperent, redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus vagarentur. Vocibus ergò tot millium, præsidem nemoris ejus Deum adorantium, juga montis collesque resonabant, cùm orta licentia a paucis (ut fere fit) in omnes se repente vulgasset. Quippe, velut in mediâ pace, per herbas congestamque frondem, prostraverant corpora. Et

Rex ⁸ fortuitam lætitiā non aversatus, largē ad epulas omnibus præbitis, per decem dies ⁹ Libero patri operatum habuit exercitum. Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriā ¹⁰ sæpius fortunæ quā virtutis esse beneficium? quippe ne epulantes quidem et sopitos mero aggredi ausus est hostis; haud secus bacchantium ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quā si præliantium clamor esset auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos commessantesque ¹¹ inter ora hostium texit.

34. Hinc ad regionem, quæ Dædala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolæ sedes, et in avios sylvestresque montes confugerant. Ergò Acadera transit, æquē usta et destituta incolentium fugā. Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copiis, pluribus simul locis arma ostendit: oppressique, ubi non exspectaverant hostem, omni clade perdomiti sunt. Ptolemæus plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque quas distribuerat copias junxit. Superato deindē Choaspe amne, Cœnon in obsidione urbis opulentæ (Beziram incolæ vocant) reliquit. Ipse ad Mazagas venit, nuper Assacano (cujus regnum fuerat) demortuo. Regioni quoque urbiue præerat mater ejus Cleophes. Triginta millia peditum tuebantur urbem, non situ solū, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam quā spectat Orientem, cingitur amne torrenti, qui præruptis utrinque rupibus aditum ad urbem impedit. Ab Occidente et a Meridie, velut de industriā, rupes præaltas admolita natura est, infra quas cavernæ et voragines longā vetustate in altum cavatæ jacent: quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis objecta est. Triginta quinque stadiū murus urbem complectitur, cujus inferiora saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. ¹² Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiæ fragilis incumberet: simulque terrā humore dilutā, ne tandem ¹³ universa consideret, interpositæ erant trabes validæ, quibus injecta tabulata muros et tegebant, et pervios fecerant.

35. Hæc munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum, consiliiue incertum (quia nec cavernas, nisi aggere poterat im-

plere, nec tormenta aliter muris admovere) quidam e muro sagittâ percussit. ¹⁴ Tum fortè in suram incidit telum, ejus spiculo evulso admoveri equum jussit: quo rectus, ne obligato quidem vulnere, haud segniùs destinata exsequebatur. Cæterùm cùm erus saucium penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus aggravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur: Se quidem Jovis filium dici, sed corporis ægri vitia sentire. Non tamen antè se recepit in castra, quàm cuncta prospexit, et quæ fieri vellet, edixit. Ergò, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem teeta demoliebantur, ingentemque vim materiæ faciendo aggeri detrahebant; alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas dejiciebant. Jamque agger æquaverat summæ fastigium terræ. Itaque turres erigebantur: quæ opera ingenti militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda Rex, nondum obduetâ vulnere cicatrice, processit: laudatisque militibus, admoveri machinas jussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in propugnatores effusa est. Præcipuè rudes talium operum terrebant mobiles turres: tantasque moles, nullâ ope, quæ cerneretur, adductas, Deorum numine agi credebant. Pila quoque muralia, et excussas tormentis prægraves hastas, ¹⁵ negabant convenire mortalibus. Itaque desperatâ urbis tutelâ concessere in arcem. Inde, quia nihil obsessis præter deditionem placebat, legati ad Regem descenderunt, veniam petitori. Quâ impetratâ, Regina cum magno nobilium fœminarum grege, aureis pateris vina libantium, processit. Ipsa genibus Regis parvo filio admoto, non veniam modò, sed etiam pristinæ fortunæ impetravit decus: quippe appellata est Regina; et credidè quidam, plus formæ quàm miserationi datum. Puero quòque certè, postea ex eâ utcumque genito, Alexandro fuit nomen.

XI. 36. Hinc Polyspercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus, inconditos oppidanos prælio vicit: intra munimenta compulsos secutus, urbem in ditionem redegit. Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venèrè in Regis potestatem. Quorum incolæ armati, petram Aornin nomine occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustrâ obsessam esse, terræque motu coactum

absistere, fama vulgaverat. Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undiquè præceps et abrupta rupes erat, ¹ senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filiis adiit, ² si pretium operi esset, aditum se monstraturum esse promittens. Octoginta talenta constituit daturum Alexander, et altero ex juvenibus obside retento, ipsum ad exsequenda, quæ obtulerat, dimisit. Leviter armatis dux datus est Mullinus scriba Regis. Hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summum jugum placebat evadere. Petra non ut pleræque modicis ac mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in ³ metæ maximè modum erecta est: cujus ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in arctius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exsurgunt. Radices ejus Indus amnis subit, præaltus utrinque asperis ripis. Ab alterà parte, ⁴ voragines eluviesque præruptæ sunt; nec alia expugnandi patebat via, quàm ut replerentur. Ad manum sylva erat, quam Rex ita cædi jussit, ut nudi stipites jacerentur: quippe rami fronde vestiti impedissent ferentes. Ipse primus ⁵ truncam arborem jecit, clamorque exercitus index alacritatis secutus est, ⁶ nullo detrectante munus, quod Rex occupasset.

37. Intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cùm Rex Sagittarios et Agrianos jubet per ardua niti. Juvenesque fortissimos ex suâ cohorte tringinta delegit. Duces his dati sunt Charus, et Alexander, quem Rex nominis, quod sibi cum eo commune esset, admonuit. Ac primò, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum Regem discrimen subire non ⁷ placuit. Sed ut signum tubâ datum est, vir audaciæ promptæ, conversus ad corporis custodes, sequi se jubet, primusque invadit in rupem. Nec deindè quisquam Macedonum substitit, relictisque stationibus suâ sponte Regem sequebantur. Multorum miserabilis fuit casus; quos ex præruptâ rupe lapsos amnis præterfluens hausit. ⁸ Triste spectaculum etiam non periclitantibus. Cùm verò alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in metum misericordiâ versâ, non extinctos, sed semetipsos deslebant. Et jam cò perventum erat, unde sine pernicië, nisi victores, redire non possent; ingentia

saxa in subeuntes provolventibus Barbaris; quæis perculsi, instabili et lubrico gradu præcipites recidebant. ⁹ Evaserant tamen Alexander et Charus, quos cum triginta delectis præmiserat Rex, et jam pugnare cominùs cœperant. Sed cùm supernè tela Barbari ingererent, sæpiùs ¹⁰ ipsi feriebantur quàm vulnerabant. Ergò Alexander et nominis sui, et promissi memor, dùm acriùs quàm cautiùs dimicat, confossus undiquè obruitur. Quem ut Charus jacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem, omnium præter ultionem immemor, cœpit; multosque hastà, quosdam gladio interemit. Sed cùm tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus procubuit exanimis. Haud secùs quàm par erat promptissimorum juvenum cæterorumque militum interitu commotus Rex, signum receptui dedit. Saluti fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi se receperunt. Et Barbari hostem depulisse contenti non institère cedentibus.

38. Cæterùm Alexander, cùm statuisset desistere incepto, (quippe nulla spes potiundæ petræ offerebatur), tamen speciem ostendit in obsidione perseverantis. Nam et itinera obsideri jussit, et turres admoveri, et fatigatis alios succedere. Cujus pertinaciâ cognitâ, Indi per biduum quidem, ac duas noctes, cum ostentatione non fiduciæ modò, sed etiam victoriæ, epulati sunt, tympana suo more pulsantes. Tertiâ verò nocte tympanorum quidem strepitus desierat audiri: cæterùm ex totâ petrâ faces refulgebant, quas accenderant Barbari, ut tutior esset ipsis fuga, obscurâ nocte per invia saxa cursuris. Rex, Balacro qui specularetur præmisso, cognoscit petram fugâ Indorum esse desertam. Tum dato signo ut universi conclamarent, incompositè fugientibus metum incussit, multique (tanquàm adesset hostis) per lubrica saxa, perque invias cotes præcipitati occiderunt. Plures aliquâ membrorum parte mulcati ab integris deserti sunt. Rex, locorum magis quàm hostium victor, ¹¹ tamen magnæ victoriæ sacrificiis et cultu Deùm satisfecit. Aræ in petrâ locatæ sunt Minervæ Victoriæque. Ducibus itineris, quò subire jusserat leviter armatos, etsi promissis minora præstiterant, pretium cum

fide redditum est. Petræ, regionisque ei adjunctæ, Sisocosto tutela permissa.

XII. 39. Inde processit Embolima, et cùm angustias itineris obsideri viginti millibus armatorum ab Eryce quodam comperisset, ¹ gravius agmen exercitûs Cœno ducendum ² modicis itineribus tradidit. Ipse prægressus cum funditore ac sagittario, deturbatis qui obsederant saltum, sequentibus se copiis viam fecit. Indi sive odio ducis, sive gratiam victoris Regis inituri, Erycem fugientem adorti interemerunt, caputque ejus atque arma ad Alexandrum detulerunt. Ille facto impunitatem dedit, honorem denegavit exemplo. Hinc ad flumen Indum sextis decimis castris pervenit, omniaque (ut præceperat) ad trajiciendum præparata ab Hephæstione reperit. ³ Regnabat in eâ regione Omphis, qui ⁴ patri quoque fuerat auctor dedendi regnum Alexandro. Et post mortem parentis legatos miserat, qui consulerent eum, regnare se interim vellet, an privatum opperiri ejus adventum; ⁵ permissoque ut regnaret, non tamen jus datum usurpare sustinuit. Is benignè quidem exceperat Hephæstionem, gratuitum frumentum copiis ejus admensus: ⁶ non tamen ei occurrerat, ne fidem ullius, nisi Regis, experiretur. Itaque venienti obviam cum armato exercitu egressus est. Elephanti quoque, per modica intervalla militum agmini immixti, procul castellorum fecerant speciem.

40. Ac primò Alexander, non socium, sed hostem adventare credebatur. Jamque et ipse arma milites capere, et equites discedere in cornu jusserat, paratos ad pugnam. At Indus, cognito Macedonum errore, jussis subsistere cæteris, ipse conceitat equum, quo vehebatur. Idem Alexander quoque fecit: sive hostis, sive amicus occurreret, ⁷ vel suâ virtute, vel illius fide tutus. Coivere, quod ex utriusque vultu posset intelligi, amicis animis: cæterum sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo. Itaque adhibito eo, Barbarus occurrisse se dixit cum exercitu, totas imperii vires protinùs traditurum; nec expectâsse dum per nuncios daretur fides. Corpus suum et regnum permittere illi, quem sciret ⁸ gloriæ militantem:

nihil magis quàm famam timere perfidiæ. Lætus ⁹ simplicitate Barbari Rex et dextram fidei suæ pignus dedit, et regnum restituit. Quinquaginta sex elephanti erant, quos tradidit Alexandro, multaque pecora eximiae magnitudinis. ¹⁰ Tauros ad tria millia, pretiosum eâ regione, acceptumque animis regnantium armentum. Quærenti Alexandro, plures agricultores haberet, an milites? "cum duobus Regibus bellanti sibi, majore militum quam agrestium manu opus esse," respondit. Abisares et Porus erant, sed in Poro eminebat auctoritas. Uterque ultra Hydaspem amnem regnabat; et belli fortunam, quisquis arma inferret, experiri decreverat.

41. Omphis, permittente Alexandro, et regium insigne sumpsit, et more gentis suæ, nomen quod patris fuerat. Taxilem appellavere populares, ¹¹ sequente nomine imperium, in quemcumque transiret. Ergò cum per triduum hospitaliter Alexandrum accepisset, quarto die, et quantum frumenti copiis, quas Hephæstion duxerat, præbitum a se esset, ostendit: et aureas coronas ipsi, amicisque omnibus, præter hæc signati argenti octoginta talenta dono dedit. Quâ benignitate ejus Alexander mirè lætus, et quæ is dederat remisit, et mille talenta ex prædâ, quam vehebat, adjecit: multaque convivia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicæ vestis, triginta equos ex suis, cum iisdem ¹² insignibus queis assueverant, cum ipsum veherent. Quæ liberalitas, sicut Barbarum adstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super cœnam largiore vino usus, gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quòd saltem in Indiâ reperisset dignum talentis mille. Rex haud oblitus quàm ægrè tulisset, quòd Clitum ob linguæ temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit, sed dixit, "Invidos homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta."

XIII. 42. Postero die, legati Abisaræ adire Regem: omnia ditioni ejus, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant; firmatæque invicem fide remittuntur ad Regem. Porum quoque nominis sui famâ ratus ad deditionem posse compelli, misit ad eum Cleocharem, qui denunciaret ei, ut stipendium penderet,

et in primo finium suorum aditu occurreret Regi. Porus alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ¹ut intranti regnum suum præstò esset, sed armatus. Jam Hydaspem Alexander superare decreverat, cùm ²Barzaentes defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinetus, trigintaque elephanti simul capti perducuntur; opportunum adversus Indos auxilium, quippe plus in belluis quàm in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. Gamaxusque Rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui Barzaenti se conjunxerat, vinetus adductus est. Igitur transfugà et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis, ad amnem Hydaspem pervenit: in cujus ulteriore ripà Porus consederat, transitu prohibiturus hostem. Octoginta quinque elephantos objecerat eximio corporum robore; ultraque eos, currus trecentos et pedum triginta ferè millia: in quibus erant sagittarii (sicut antè dictum est) ³gravioribus telis, quàm ut aptè executi possent. Ipsum vehebat elephantis super cæteras belluas eminens: armaque auro et argento distincta corpus raræ magnitudinis honestabant. Par animus robori corporis, et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia.

43. Macedonas non conspectus hostium solùm, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum erat, magnitudo terrebant. Quatuor in latitudinem stadia diffusum profundo alveo et nusquam vada aperiente, speciem vasti maris fecerat. ⁴Nec pro spatio aquarum latè stagnantium impetum coercerat; sed quasi in arctum coëuntibus ripis, torrens, et elisus ferebatur: occultaque saxa inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undæ repereussæ. Terribilior erat facies ripæ, quam equi virique compleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles, et de industriâ irritatæ, horrendo stridore aures fatigabant. Hinc hostis, hinc amnis ⁵capacia quidem bonæ spei pectora, et sæpe se experta, improvise tamen pavore percusserant: quippe instabiles rates, nec dirigi ad ripam, nec tutò applicari posse credebant. Erant in medio amne insulæ crebræ, in quas Indi et Macedones nantes, levatis super capita armis, transibant. Ibi ⁶levia prælia conferebant, et uterque Rex parvæ rei discrimine summæ experiebatur eventum. Cæte-

rùm in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audaciâ insignes fuère Simmachus et Nicanor, nobiles juvenes, et perpetuâ^s partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi. Quois ducibus promptissimi juvenum lanceis modò armati transnavère in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat; multosque Indorum, nullâ re magis quàm audaciâ armati, interemerunt. Abire cum gloriâ poterant,⁹ si unquam temeritas felix inveniret modum. Sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbè quoque exspectant, circumventi ab his qui occulti enataverant, eminüs obruti telis sunt. Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis ablati sunt, aut vorticibus impliciti. Eaque pugna multùm fiduciam Pori crexit, cuncta cernentis e ripâ.

44. Alexander inops consilii, tandem ad fallendum hostem¹⁰ talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in flumine amplior cæteris, sylvestris eadem, et tegendis insidiis apta. Fossa quoque præalta haud procul a ripâ, quam tenebat ipse, non pedites modò, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere. Ut igitur¹¹ a custodiâ hujus opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolemæum cum omnibus turmis obequitare jussit procul ab insulâ, et subindè Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. Per complures dies Ptolemæus id fecit, eoque consilio Porum quoque agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coegit advertere. Jam extra conspectum hostis insula erat. Alexander in diversâ parte ripæ statui suum tabernaculum jussit, assuetamque comitari ipsum cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare, et omnem apparatus regiæ magnificentiæ hostium oculis de industriâ ostendi. Attalum, et¹² æqualem sibi, et haud disparem habitu oris et corporis¹³ (utique cùm procul viseretur) veste regiâ exornat, præbiturum speciem ipsum Regem illi ripæ præsidere, nec agitare de transitu. Hujus consilii effectum primò morata tempestas est, mox adjuvit: incommoda quòque ad bonos eventus vertente fortunâ. Trajicere amnem cum cæteris copiis¹⁴ in regionem insulæ (de quâ antè dictum est) parabat; ¹⁵averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolemæo¹⁶ inferiorem obsede-

rant ripam : cùm procella imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effudit, obrutique milites nimbo in terram refugerunt, navigiis ratibusque desertis. Sed tumultuantium fremitus, obstrepentibus ripis, ab hoste non poterat audiri. Deindè momento temporis repressus est imber. Cæterùm adeò spissæ intendere se nubes, ut conderent lucem, vixque colloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. ¹⁷ Terruisset alium obducta nox cœlo, cùm ignoto amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam cœci atque improvidi, et ex periculo gloriam ¹⁸ accersentes petebant, occupante : obscuritatem, quæ cæteros terrebat, suam occasionem ratus, dato signo ut omnes silentio ascenderent in rates, eam, quâ ipse vehebatur, primam jussit ¹⁹ expelli. Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa, quæ petebatur : quippe adhuc Porus Ptolemæum tantùm intuebatur. Unâ ergò navi, quam petrae fluctus illiserat, hærente, cæteræ evadunt : armaque capere milites, et ire in ordinem jussit.

XIV. 45. Jamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cùm Poro nunciatur, armis virisque ripam obtineri, et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primò, humani ingenii vitio, spei suæ indulgens, Abisarem belli socium, (et ita convenerat,) adventare credebat. Mox liquidiore luce aperiente hostem, quadrigas, et quatuor millia equitum venienti agmini Porus objecit. Dux erat copiarum, quas præmisit, Hages frater ipsius. Summa virium in curribus. Senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clypeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos ; cæteri aurigæ erant haud sanè inermes : quippe jacula complura, ubi cominùs præliandum erat, ² omnis habenis, in hostem ingerebant. Cæterùm vix ullus usus hujus auxilii eo die fuit. Namque (ut suprâ dictum est) imber violentiùs quàm aliàs fusus, campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat : gravesque et propemodum immobiles currus illuvie et voraginibus hærebant. Contrà Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenuè invectus est. Scythæ et Dahæ primi omnium invasere Indos : Perdiccam deindè cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit.

46. Jam undiquè pugna se moverat, cùm ii, qui currus agebant, illud ultimum auxilium suorum rati, effusis habenis in medium discrimen ruere cœperunt. Anceps id malum utrisque erat. Nam et Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur, et per lubrica atque invia immissi currus excutiebant eos, a quibus regebantur. Aliorum turbati equi non in voragines modò lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem præcipitavère curricula. Pauci tamen hostium telis exacti penetravère ad Porum, acerrimè pugnam cientem. Is, ut dissipatos totà acie currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. Post eos posuerat pedites ac sagittarios tympana pulsare solitos. Id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat. Nec strepitu eorum ³ movebantur, olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum præferebatur; id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum: et deseruisse gestantes militare flagitium ⁴ habebatur. Capitis etiam sanxerant pœnam iis, qui ex acie non retulissent; metu, quem ⁵ ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso. Macedonas non belluarum modò, sed etiam ipsius Regis aspectus parumper inhibuit. Belluæ, dispositæ inter armatos, speciem turrium procul fecerant. Ipse Porus humanæ magnitudinis propemodum excesserat formam. Magnitudini adjicere videbatur bellua, quâ vehabatur, tantum inter cæteras eminens, quantum aliis ipse præstabat.

47. Itaque Alexander contemplatus et Regem, et agmen Indorum, "Tandem," inquit, "par animo meo periculum video. Cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est." Intuensque Cœnum, "Cùm ego," inquit, "Ptolemæo, Perdiccæque, et Hephæstione comitatus, in lævum hostium cornu impetum fecero, viderisque me in medio ardore certaminis, ipse ⁶ dextrum move, et turbatis signa infer. Tu, Antigenes, et tu Leonate, et Tauron, invehemini in mediam aciem, et urgebitis frontem. Hastæ nostræ prælongæ et validæ ⁷ non aliàs magis quàm adversus belluas, rectoresque earum usui esse poterunt. Deturbate eos, qui vehuntur, et ⁸ ipsas con-

fodite. *Anceps* genus auxilii est, et in suos acriùs furit. In hostem enim imperio, in suos pavore agitur." Hæc elocutus, concitat equum primus. Jamque (ut destinatum erat) invaserat ordines hostium, cùm Cœnus ingenti vi in lævum cornu invehitur. Phalanx quoque mediam Indorum aciem uno impetu perrupit. At Porus quâ equitem invehì senserat, belluas agi jussit. Sed tardum, et penè immobile animal, equorum velocitatem æquare non poterat. Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat Barbaris usus. Quippe longas et prægraves, nisi priùs in terrâ statuerunt arcum, haud satis aptè et commodè imponunt: tum humo lubricâ et ob id impediēte conatum, ¹⁰ molientes ictus celeritate hostium occupabantur. Ergò spreto Regis imperio (quod ferè fit, ubi turbatis acriùs metus quàm dux imperare cœpit) totidem erant imperatores quot agmina errabant. Alius jungere aciem, alius dividere; stare quidam, et nonnulli circumvchi terga hostium jubebant. ¹¹ Nihil in medium consulebatur. Porus tamen cum paucis, quibus metu potior fuerat pudor, colligere dispersos, obviis hosti ire pergit, elephantosque ante agmen suorum agi jubet. Magnum belluæ injecēre terrorem, insolitusque stridor non equos modò, tam pavidum ad omnia animal, sed viros quoque, ordinesque turbaverat.

48. Jam fugæ circumspiciebant locum paulò antè victores, cùm Alexander Agrianos et Thracas leviter armatos, ¹² meliorem concursatione, quàm cominùs militem, emisit in belluas. Ingentem ii vim telorum injecēre et elephantis et regentibus eos. Phalanx quoque instare constanter territis cœpit. Sed quidam avidius persecuti belluas, in semet irritavēre vulneribus. Obtriti ergò pedibus earum cæteris, ut parciùs instarent, fuēre documentum. Præcipuè ¹³ terribilis illa facies erat, cùm ¹⁴ manu arma virosque corripere, et super se regentibus traderent. *Anceps* ergò pugna, nunc sequentium nunc fugientium elephantos, in multum dici varium certamen extraxit, donec securibus (id namque genus auxilii præparatum erat) pedes amputare cœperunt. ¹⁵ *Copidas* vocant gladios leviter curvatos, falcibus similes, quæ ap-

petebant belluarum manus. Nec quidquam inexpertum, non ¹⁰ mortis modò, sed etiam in ipsâ morte, novi supplicii timor omittebat. Ergò elephanti vulneribus tandem fatigati suos impetu sternunt, et qui rexerant eos, præcipitati in terram ab ipsis obterebantur. Itaque pecorum modo, magis pavidi quàm infesti, ultra aciem exigebantur, cùm Porus, destitutus a pluribus, tela multò antè præparata, in circumfusus, ex elephanto suo cœpit ingerere, multisque eminùs vulneratis, expositus ipse ad ictus undiquè petebatur. Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illine pectore exceperat: multoque sanguine profuso, languidis manibus ¹⁷ magis elapsa, quàm excussa tela mittebat. Nec segniùs bellua instincta rabie, nondum saucia, invehebatur ordinibus, donec rector belluæ Regem conspexit ¹⁸ fluentibus membris, omissisque armis vix compotem mentis. Tum belluam in fugam concitat, sequente Alexandro. Sed equus ejus multis vulneribus confossus deficiensque procubuit, ¹⁹ posito magis Rege, quàm effuso. Itaque dum equum mutat, tardiùs insecutus est.

49. Interim frater Taxilis Regis Indorum, præmissus ab Alexandro, monere cœpit Porum, ne ultima experiri perseveraret, dederetque se victori. At ille, quanquàm exhaustæ erant vires deficiebatque sanguis, tamen ad notam vocem excitatus, "Agnosco," inquit, "Taxilis fratrem, imperii regni-que sui proditoris;" et telum, quod unum fortè non effluserat, contorsit in eum; quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum. - Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito, fugere acriùs cœpit. Sed elephante quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat. Itaque sistit fugam, peditemque sequenti hosti objecit. Jam Alexander consecutus erat, et pertinaciâ Pori cognitâ, vetabat resistantibus parci. Ergò undiquè et in pedites et in ipsum Porum tela congesta sunt, quæis tandem gravatus, labi ex belluâ cœpit. Indus, qui elephantum regebat, descendere cum ratus, more solito elephantum procumbere jussit in genua: qui ut se submisit, cæteri quoque (ita enim instituti erant) demisere corpora in terram. Ea res et Porum et cæteros victoribus tradidit.

50. Rex spoliari corpus Pori, interemptum esse credens, jussit: et qui detraherent loricam vestemque, concurrere, cum bellua dominum tueri, et spoliantes coepit appetere, levatumque corpus ejus rursus dorso suo imponere. Ergò telis undiquè obruitur, confossoque eo, in vehiculum Porus imponitur. Quem Rex ut vidit allevantem oculos, non odio, sed miseratione commotus, "Quæ, ²⁰ malum!" inquit, "amentia te coegit, rerum mearum cognitâ famâ, belli fortunam experiri, cum Taxiles esset in deditos clementiæ meæ tam propinquum tibi exemplum?" At ille, "Quoniam," inquit, "percontaris, respondebo cā ²¹ libertate, quam interrogando fecisti. Neminem me ²² fortiorem esse censebam. Meas enim novam vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiorem esse te belli docuit eventus. ²³ Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi." Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret: "Quod hic," inquit, "dies tibi suadet, quo expertus es, quàm caduca felicitas esset." Plus monendo profecit, quàm si precatus esset. ²⁴ Quippe magnitudinem animi ejus interritam ac ne fortunâ quidem infractam, non misericordiâ modò, sed etiam honore excipere dignatus est. Ægrum curavit haud secùs quàm si pro ipso pugnâset. ²⁵ Confirmatum, contra spem omnium, in amicorum numerum recepit. Mox donavit ampliore regno, quàm tenuit. Nec sanè quidquam ingenium ejus solidius aut constantius habuit, quàm admirationem veræ laudis et gloriæ. ²⁶ Simplicius tamen famam aestimabat in hoste, quàm in cive: quippe a suis credebatur magnitudinem suam destrui posse: eandem clariorem fore, quò majores fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.

LIBER IX.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Devicto Poro, in Indiam penetrat Alexander, variasque gentes et urbes, quarum mores describuntur, sibi subjicit.
2. Gangaridas et Pharrasios aggressurus, milites fatigatos et bellum detrectantes prolixâ oratione ad perseverantiam hortatur.
3. Cœnus, militum nomine, Alexandro respondet, et paulò post morbo extinguitur.
4. Sobiis, et aliis expugnatis, regionem Oxydracarum et Mallorum ingreditur. Oratione ad milites habitâ, Barbaros fugat, eorumque oppidum, contempto Demophoonte vate, obsidet.
5. Præcipiti saltu in Oxydracarum oppidum se immittens, graviter vulneratur, et fortissimis quibusdam ducibus desideratis, oppidumque post aliquot dies expugnato, sibi suisque restituitur.
6. Ab amicis rogatus, ut salutis suæ publicæque parceret, generosè respondit; in instituto suo de domando Orbe perseverans.
7. Græcorum quorundam in Bactris defectio repressa. Dum Indorum legatos convivio excipit Alexander, inter Horratham et Dioxippum, qui tandem imparibus armis duello certant, rixa oritur. Paulò post Dioxippus inimicorum calumniis ultra modum irritatus, seipsum interemit.
8. Donis a legatis Indorum acceptis, Sabracas, Musicanos, Præstos, aliosque populos debellat, Ptolemæo venenatâ plagâ acceptâ curato, ope cujusdam herbæ, cujus species in somnis Alexandro est oblata.
9. Cupidine visendi Oceani correptus, non sine periculis propter nautarum imperitiam, tandem voti sui compos redditur.
10. Ab Oceano in Arabitarum, Cedrosiorum, et Indorum regiones revertitur: ubi cum fame et pestilentia luctatur exercitus, deindò liberatur, planeque restituitur. Undè secutus est probrosos bacchantium lusus, supplicio Aspastis Satrapis cruentatus.

I. 1. ALEXANDER tam memorabili victoriâ lætus, quâ sibi Orientis fines apertos esse censebat, Soli victimis cæsis milites quoque, quò promptioribus animis reliqua belli munia obirent, pro concione laudatos, docuit quicquid Indis virium fuisset, illâ dimicatione prostratum: cætera opimam prædam fore, celebratasque opes in eâ regione eminere, quam peterent. Proindè jam vilia et obsoleta esse spolia de Persis: gemmis, margaritisque, et auro atque ebore Macedoniam Græciamque, non suas tantum domos repleturos. Avidi milites pecuniæ et gloriæ, simul quia nunquam affirmatio ejus fefellerat eos, pollicentur operam: dimissisque cum bonâ spe, navigia ædificari jubet, ut cum totam Asiam percurrisset, finem terrarum

mare inviseret. Multa materia navalis in proximis montibus erat, quam cedere aggressi, magnitudinis inusitatæ reperere serpentes. Rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in iisdem montibus erant. Cæterum hoc nomen belluis eis inditum a Græcis; sermonis ejus ignari aliud linguâ suâ usurpant. Rex duabus urbibus conditis in utraque fluminis, quod superaverat, ripâ, copiarum duces coronis et mille aureis singulos donat. Cæteris quoque pro portione aut gradu, quem in militiâ obtinebant, aut ²navatæ operæ, honos habitus est. Abisares, qui prius quàm cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit, pollicentes omnia facturum quæ imperâsset, modò ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere. Neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum, aut regnaturum esse captivum. Cui Alexander nunciari jussit, si gravaretur ad se venire, ipsum ad eum esse venturum.

2. Hinc porrò Acesine superato, ad interiora Indiæ processit. Sylvæ erant propè in immensum spatium diffusæ, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosæ. ³Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus, quâ se curvaverant, erigebantur, adedò ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex suâ radice generatæ. Coeli temperies salubris: quippe et vim solis umbræ levant, et aquæ largæ manant e fontibus. Cæterum hîc quoque serpentium magna vis erat, squamis fulgorem auri reddentibus. Virus haud ullum magis noxium est: quippe morsum præsens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est. Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyatim. Junctum erat flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi inusitatis, agrestiumque pavonum multitudine frequens. Castris inde motis, oppidum haud procul positum coronâ capit, obsidibusque acceptis, stipendium imponit. Ad magnam deindè (ut in eâ regione) urbem pervenit; non muro solum, sed etiam palude munitam. Cæterum Barbari vehiculis inter se junctis dimicaturi occurrerunt. Tela aliis hastæ, aliis secures erant: transiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere laborantibus suis vellent. Ao

primò insolitum genus pugnae Macedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur. Deindè spreto tam incondito auxilio, ab utroque latere vehiculis circumfusi, repugnantes fodere coeperunt. Et vincula quæ conserta erant, jussit incidi, quò faciliùs singula circumvenirentur. Itaque octo millibus suorum amissis, in oppidum refugerunt. Postero die scalis undiquè admotis, muri occupantur. Paucis pernicitas saluti fuit; qui cognito urbis excidio, paludem transnavère, et in vicina oppida ingentem intulère terrorem: invictum exercitum, et Deorum profectò, advenisse memorantes.

3. Alexander, ad vastandam eam regionem Perdiccà cum expedità manu misso, partem copiarum Eumeni tradit, ut is quoque Barbaros ad deditionem compelleret. Ipse cæteros ad urbem validam, in quam aliarum quoque confugerant incolæ, induxit. Oppidani, missis qui Regem deprecarentur, nihilominùs bellum parabant: quippe orta seditio in diversa consilia diduxerat vulgum. Alii omnia deditione potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse, ducebant. Sed dum nihil in commune consultitur, qui deditioni imminebant, apertis portis hostem recipiunt. Alexander, quanquàm belli auctoribus jure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venià datà, et obsidibus acceptis, ad proximam deindè urbem castra movit. Obsides ducebantur ante agmen: quos cum e muris agnovissent, utpotè gentis ejusdem, in colloquium convocaverunt. Illi clementiam Regis simulque vim commemorando, ad deditionem eos compulèro: cæterasque urbes simili modo deditas in fidem accepit. Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum est. Gens, 'ut Barbari, sapientià excellit, bonisque moribus regitur. Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, °sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantium habitum cura mandata est. Si quos °insignes aut aliquà membrorum parte inutiles notaverunt, necari jubent. Nuptiis cocunt, non genere ac nobilitate conjunctis, sed electà corporum specie: quia eadem æstimatur in liberis.

4. Hujus gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copias, ab ipso Sopithe °obtenebatur. Clausæ erant portæ, sed nulli

in muris turribusque se armati ostendebant: dubitabantque Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolæ, an fraude se occulerent: cùm subito patefactâ portâ, Rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multùm inter omnes Barbaros eminens corporis specie. Vestis erat auro purpurâque distincta, quæ etiam crura velabat. Aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas. Lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant. Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore et magnitudine lapilli. ⁸ Baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito, precatus ut sospes acciperet, se, liberosque, et gentem suam dedit. Nobiles ad venandum canes in eâ regione sunt. Latratu abstinere dicuntur, cùm videre feram; leonibus maximè infesti. Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in consepito leonem eximiae magnitudinis jussit emitti, et quatuor ⁹ omnino admoveri canes; qui celeriter occupaverunt feram: ¹⁰ tum ex iis, qui assueverant talibus ministeriis, unus, canis leoni cum aliis inhærentis crus avellere, et quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare cœpit: ne sic quidem pertinaciâ victâ, rursus aliam partem secare institit: et indè non segniùs inhærentem ferro subindè cædebat. Ille in vulnere feræ dentes moribundus quoque infixerat: tantam in illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerâsse naturam memoriæ proditum est. Equidem plura transcribo, quàm credo. Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito; nec subducere quæ accepi. Relicto ¹¹ igitur Sopithe in suo regno, ad fluvium Hypasin processit; Hephæstione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, conjuncto. Phegelas erat gentis proximæ Rex; qui popularibus suis colere agros (ut asseverant) jussis, Alexandro cum donis occurrit, nihil quod imperaret detrectans.

II. 5. Biduum apud eum substitit Rex: tertio die amnem superare decreverat, transitu difficilem, non spatio solùm aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum. Percontatus igitur Pheglam, quæ noscenda erant, undecim dierum ultrâ flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit: excipere deindè Gangem, maximum totius Indiæ fluminum. Ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios, eorumque Regem

esse Aggrammem, viginti millibus equitum, ducentisque pedum obsidentem vias. Ad hæc quadrigarum duo millia trahere, et præcipuum terrorem elephantos, quos trium millium numerum explere dicebat. Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur. Igitur Porum (nam cum eo erat) percontatur, an vera essent, quæ dicebantur. Ille vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso jactari affirmat; cæterum qui regnaret non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimæ sortis: quippe patrem ejus tonsorem vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum ¹cordi fuisse Reginae. ²Ab eâ in propiorem ejus, qui tum regnâset, amicitia locum admotum, interfecto eo per insidias, sub specie tutelæ liberum, ejus invasisse regnum, necatisque pueris, hunc qui nunc regnat generâsse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternæ fortunæ quàm suæ memorem. Affirmatio Pori multiplicem animo Regis injecerat curam: hostem belluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum extimescebat. ³Relegatos in ultimum penè rerum humanarum terminum persequi, et crucere, arduum videbatur. Rursus avaritia gloriæ, et insatiabilis cupido famæ, nihil invium, nihil remotum videri sinebat. Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones tot emensi spatia terrarum, in acie, et in castris senes facti, per objecta flumina, per tot naturæ obstantes difficultates secuturi essent. ⁴Abundantes onustosque prædâ, magis partâ frui velle, quàm acquirendâ fatigari. Non ⁵idem sibi, et militibus animi esse. Se totius orbis imperium mente complexura, adhuc in operum suorum primordio stare. Militem labore defatigatum, proximum quemque fructum, finito tandem periculo, expetere.

6. Vicit ergò cupido rationem, et ad concionem vocatis militibus, ad hunc maximè modum disseruit. "Non ignoro, milites, multa, quæ terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiæ per hos dies ^ade industriâ esse jactata. Sed non est improvisa vobis mentientium vanitas. Sic Ciliciæ fauces, sic Mesopotamiæ campos, Tigrim et Euphratem, quorum alterum vado transivimus, alterum ponte, ^bterribilem fecerant Persæ. ^cNunquàm ad liquidum fama perducitur. Omnia, illâ tradente

majora sunt vero. ⁹ Nostra quoque gloria, cùm sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quàm operis. Modò quis belluas offerentes mœnium speciem, quis Hydaspem amnem, quis cætera auditu majora quàm vero, sustinere posse credebat? Olim hereulè fugissemus ex Asiâ, si nos fabulæ debellare potuissent. Creditisne elephantorum greges majores esse quàm usquam armentorum sunt? cùm et rarum sit animal, nec facilè capiatur, multoque difficilius mitigetur. Atqui ¹⁰ eadem vanitas copias peditum equitumque numeravit. ¹¹ Nam flumen quo latiùs fusum est, hoc placidiùs stagnat; quippe angustis ripis ¹² coercita, et in angustiore alveum elisa, torrentes aquas invehunt: contrà ¹³ spatio alvei segnior cursus est. Præterea in ripâ omne periculum est, ubi applicantes navigia hostis exspectat. ¹⁴ Ita quantumeumque flumen intervenit, idem futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram."

"Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus. Utrumne vos magnitudo belluarum, an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, præsens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementiùs, quàm in nos incurrerunt. Tam vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an tria millia, cùm, uno aut altero ¹⁵ vulneratis, cæteros in fugam declinare videamus? Deindè paucos quoquè incommodè regunt: congregata verò tot millia ipsa se elidunt, ubi nec stare, nec fugere poterint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut cùm haberem, ipse non opposuerim, satis gnarus plus suis quàm hostibus periculi inferre."

¹⁶ "At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! ¹⁷ Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis, et nunc primùm inconditam sustinebitis turbam. Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis; et Cilicia inundata cruore Persarum; et Arbela, cujus campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. Serò hostium legiones numerare cœpistis, postquàm ¹⁸ solitudinem in Asiâ vincendo fecistis. Cùm per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostrâ cogitandum fuit. Nunc nos Seythæ sequuntur, Bæ-

triana auxilia præstò sunt, Dahæ, Sogdianique inter nos militant. Nec tamen illi turbæ confido. Vestras manus intueor, vestram virtutem, rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem prædemque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nec hostium exercitus numeravero. Vos modò animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciæ adhibete."

"Non in limine operum laborumque nostrorum, sed in exitu stamus. ¹⁹ Pervenimus ad solis ortum et oceanum, nisi obstat ignavia: inde victores, perdomito fine terrarum, revertemur in patriam. Nolite (quod pigri agricolæ faciunt) maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. Majora sunt periculis præmia. Dives eadem et imbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco, quàm ad prædam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare littoribus invehit, referatis in patriam; digni qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis."

²⁰ "Per, ego vos, gloriam vestram, quâ humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos, et in me vestra merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro, quæsoque, ne humanarum rerum terminos adeuntem, alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam Regem, deseratis. Cætera vobis imperavi, hoc unum debiturus sum. ²¹ Et is vos rogo, qui nihil unquàm vobis præcepi, quin primus me periculis obtulerim, qui sæpe aciem clypeo meo texi, ne infregeritis in manibus meis palmam, quâ Hærculem, Liberumque Patrem, si invidia abfuerit, æquabo. Date hoc precibus meis, et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestræ index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites, nec agnosci videor a vobis. Surdas jamdudum aures pulso. Aversos animos et infractos excitare conor."

7. Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent, ²² "Nescio quid," inquit, "imprudens in vos deliqui, quòd me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem negat. Quos alloquor? Quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam, et magnitudinem vindicamus. Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulò

antè vidi contendendum, qui potissimùm vulnerati Regis corpus exciperent? Desertus, destitutus sum, hostibus deditus. Sed solus quoque ire perseverabo. Objicite me fluminibus et belluis, et illis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis. Inveniam qui desertum a vobis sequantur. Scythæ Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulò antè, nunc milites nostri. Mori præstat, ²³ quàm precariò Imperatorem esse. Itc reduces domos, itc deserto Rege ovantes. Ego hic a vobis desperatæ victoriæ, aut honestæ morti locum inveniam."

III. 8. Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Expectabant ut duces principesque ad Regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos ¹ non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non posse. Cæterùm illi metu attoniti in terram ora defixerant. Igitur primò ² fremitus suâ sponte, deindè gemitus quoque oritur, paulatimque liberius dolor ³ erigi cœpit, manantibus lacrymis, adeo ut Rex, irâ in misericordiam versâ, ne ipse quidem, quanquàm euperet, ⁴ temperare oculis potuerit. Tandem universâ concione effusius flente, Cœnus ausus est, cunctantibus cæteris, propiùs tribunal accedere, significans se loqui velle. Quem ut videre milites detrahentem galeam capiti, (ita enim Regem alloqui mos est) hortari cœperunt, ut causam exercitûs ageret.

Tum Cœnus, "Dii prohibeant," inquit, "a nobis ⁵ impias mentes, et profectò prohibent. ⁶ Idem animus est tuis qui fuit semper, ire quò jusseris, pugnare, periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. ⁷ Proindè si perseveras, inermes quoque, et nudi, et exsanguis, utcumque tibi cordi est, sequimur, vel anteceditimus. Sed si audire vis non fietas tuorum militum voces, verùm necessitate ultimâ expressas, præbe, quæso, propitias aures imperium atque auspicium tuum constantissimè secutis, et quòcumque pergis, secuturis."

"Vicisti, Rex, magnitudine rerum non hostes modò, ⁸ sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas ⁹ capere poterat, implevimus. Emensis maria terrasque, meliùs nobis, quàm incolis omnia nota sunt. Penè in ultimo mundi fine consistimus: in

alium orbem paras ire, et Indiam quæris Indis quoque ignotam. Inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura quàm sol videt, victoriâ lustres. Digna prorsus cogitatio animo tuo, sed altior nostro. Virtus enim tua semper in incremento erit, nostra vis in fine jam est."

"Intuere corpora exanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria. Jam tela hebetia sunt, jam arma deficient. Vestem Persicam induimus, quia domestica subvehi non potest. In externum degeneravimus cultum. ¹⁰ Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? jube quæri quàm multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuiquè supersit ex prædâ. Omnium victores, omnium inopes sumus. Nec ¹¹ luxuriâ laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum objicies belluis? Quarum ¹² ut multitudinem augeant de industriâ Barbari, magnum tamen esse numerum ¹³ etiam ex mendacio intelligo."

"Quòd si adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minùs vasta est. Quâ subactâ, licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse natura. Cur circuitu petis gloriam, quæ ad manum posita est? Ille quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, ¹⁴ pervenimus quò tua fortuna ducit. Hæc tecum, quàm sine te cum his loqui malui, ¹⁵ non ut inirem circumstantis exercitûs gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium potiùs, quàm gemitum murmurantium audires."

9. Ut finem orationi Cœnus imposuit, clamor undiquè cum ploratu oritur, Regem, patrem, dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. Jamque et alii duces præcipuèque seniores, quæis ob ætatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas major, eadem precabantur. Ille nec castigare obstinatos, nec mitigare poterat iratos. Itaque inops consilii desiluit e tribunali, claudique regiam jussit, omnibus, præter assuetos, adire prohibitis. Biduum iræ datum est, tertio die processit, erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suæ, munimenta quoque castrorum jussit extendi

cubiliaque amplioris formæ, ¹⁶quàm pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum præparans. Hinc repetens quæ emensus erat, ad flumen Acesinem locat castra. Ibi fortè Cœnus morbo extinctus est. Cujus morte ingemuit Rex quidem; adjecit tamen, ¹⁷propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tanquàm solus Macedoniam visurus esset. Jam in aquâ classis, quam ædificari jusserat, stabat. Inter hæc Memnon ex Thraciâ in supplementum equitum sex millia, præter eos ab Harpalo peditum septem millia adduxerat; armaque viginti quinque millia auro et argento cæolata pertulerat: queis distributis, vetera cremari jussit. ¹⁸Mille navigiis aditurus Oceanum, discordes et vetera odia retractantes Porum et Taxilem, Indiæ Reges, firmatâ per affinitatem gratiâ, reliquit in suis regnis, summo in ædificandâ classe amborum studio usus. Oppida quoque duo condidit, quorum alterum *Niccæm* appellavit, alterum *Bucephalon*, equi, quem amiserat, memoriæ ac nomini dedicans urbem. Elephantis deindè et impedimentis terrâ sequi jussis, secundo amne defluxit, quadraginta fermè stadia singulis diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subindè copiæ possent.

IV. 10. Perventum erat in regionem, in quâ Hydaspes amnis Acesini committitur. Hinc decurrit in fine Sobiorum. Ili de exercitu Herculis majores suos commemorant ægros relictos cepisse sedem, ¹quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavæ tela erant. Multaque, etiam cùm Græci mores exolevissent, ²stirpis ostendebant vestigia. Hinc ³exscensione factâ, ducenta et quinquaginta stadia processit; depopulatusque regionem, oppidum caput ejus coronâ cepit. Quadraginta peditum millia gens in ripâ fluminum opposuerat, quæ, amne superato, in fugam compulit, inclusosque mœnibus expugnat. Puberes interfecti sunt, cæteri ⁴venierunt. Alteram deindè urbem expugnare adortus, magnâque vi defendentium pulsus, multos Macedonum amisit: sed cùm in obsidione perseverâset, oppidani, desperatâ salute, ignem subjecere tectis: se quoque ac liberos conjugesque incendie

cremant; quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat. ⁶ Delebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant: adeo etiam naturae jura bellum in contrarium mutat. Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidium dereliquit. Ipse navigio circumvectus est arcem: ⁶ quippe tria flumina, tota India praeter Gangem maxima, munimento arcis applicant undas. A Septentrione Indus alluit, a Meridie Acesines Hydaspes confunditur.

11. Caeterum amnium coitus maritimis similes fluctus movet, multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, ⁷ iter, qua meant navigia, in tenuem alveum cogitur. Itaque cum crebri fluctus se invherent, et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, ⁸ subducere nautae coeperunt. Sed ⁹ ministeria eorum, hinc metu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. In oculis duo majora omnium navigia submersa sunt: leviora cum et ipsa nequirent regi, in ripam tamen ¹⁰ innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse Rex in rapidissimos vortices incidit; quibus intorta navis, obliqua et ¹¹ gubernaculi impatiens, agebatur. Jam vestem detraxerat corpori, projecturus semet in flumen, amicique ut exciperent eum, laud procul nabant: ¹² apparebatque anceps periculum, tam nataturi, quam navigare perseverantis. Ergo ingenti certamine concitant remos, quantaque vis humana esse poterat admota est, ut fluctus, qui se invhebant, everberarentur. Findi crederes undas, et retrò gurgites cedere. Quibus tandem navis erepta, non tamen ripae applicatur, sed in proximum vadum illiditur. Cum amne bellum fuisse crederes. Ergo aris pro numero fluminum positus, sacrificioque facto, triginta stadia processit.

12. Inde ventum est in regionem Oxydracorum Mallo-
rumque; quos alias bellare inter se solitos, tunc ¹³ periculi societas junxerat. Nonaginta millia juniorum peditum in armis erant. Praeter hos equitum decem millia nongentaeque quadrigae. At Macedones, qui ¹⁴ omni discrimine jam defunctos se esse crediderant, postquam integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverunt, improvise

metu territi rursus seditiosis vocibus Regem increpare cœperunt: "Gangem amnem, et quæ ultra essent, non coactos transmittere; non tamen finisse, sed mutâsse bellum: indomitis gentibus se objectos, ut sanguine suo aperirent ei Oceanum. Trahi extra sidera et Solem, cogique adire, quæ mortalium oculis natura subduxerit. ¹⁵ Novis identidem armis novos hostes existere. Quos ut omnes fundant fugentque, quod præmium ipsos manere? caliginem ac tenebras, et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem; repletum immanium belluarum gregibus fretum; immobiles undas, in quibus emoriens natura defecerit." Rex non suâ, sed militum sollicitudine anxius, concione advocatâ docet, "imbelles esse, quos metuant. Nihil deindè præter has gentes obstare, quominus terrarum spatia emensi, ad finem simul mundi laborumque perveniant: cessisse illis metuentibus Gangem, et multitudinem nationum, quæ ultra amnem essent; declinâsse iter eò, ubi par gloria, minus periculum esset. ¹⁶ Jam prospicere se Oceanum: jam perflare ad ipsos auram maris: ne inviderent sibi laudem quam peteret: Herculis et Liberi patris terminos transituros illos: Regi suo parvo impendio immortalitatem famæ daturus; paterentur se ex Indiâ redire, non fugere."

13. Omnis multitudo, et maximè militaris, mobili impetu fertur. Ita seditionis non remedia, quàm principia, majora sunt. Non aliàs tam alacer clamor ab exercitu est redditus, jubentium duceret Diis secundis, et æquaret gloriâ quos æmularetur. Lætus his acclamationibus ad hostes protinus castra movit. Validissimæ Indorum gentes erant, et bellum impigrè parabant, ducemque ex natione Oxydracarum ¹⁷ spectatæ virtutis elegerant, qui sub radicibus montis castra posuit, latèque ignes, ut speciem multitudinis augeret, ostendit; clamore quoque ac sui moris ululatu identidem acquiescentes Macedones frustrâ terrere conatus. Jam lux appetebat, cùm Rex fiduciæ ac spei plenus, alacres milites arma capere, et exire in aciem jubet. Sed metume an seditione obortâ inter ipsos, subitò profugerunt Barbari. Certè avios montes

et impeditos occupaverunt. Quorum agmen Rex frustra persecutus, impedimenta cepit.

14. Perventum deindè est ad oppidum Oxydracarum, in quod plerique confugerant, ¹⁵haud majore fiduciâ mœnium quàm armorum. ¹⁹Jam admovebat Rex, cùm vates monere eum cœpit, ne committeret, aut certè differret obsidionem: vitæ ejus periculum ostendi. Rex Demophoonta (is namque vates erat) intuens, "Si quis," inquit, "te, arti tuæ intentum, et exta spectantem, sic interpellet, non dubitem quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit." Et cùm ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset, "Censesne," inquit, "²⁰tantas res, non pecudum fibras, ante oculos habenti, ullum esse majus impedimentum, quàm vatem superstitione captum?" Nec diutiùs quàm respondit moratus, admoveri jubet scalas, ²¹cunctantibusque cæteris, evadit in murum. Angusta muri corona erat. ²²Non pinnae, sicut alibi, fastigium ejus distinxerant, sed perpetua lorica obducta transitum sepserat. Itaque Rex hærebat magis quàm stabat in ²³marginè, clypeo undiquè incidentia tela propulsans. Nam undiquè eminus ex turribus petebatur. Nec subire milites poterant, quia supernè vi telorum obruebantur. Tandem magnitudinem periculi pudor vicit: quippe cernebant cunctatione suâ dedi hostibus Regem. Sed festinando morabantur auxilia. Nam dum pro se quisque certat evadere, oneravère scalas: ²⁴queis non sufficientibus, devoluti, unicam spem Regis fefellerunt. Stabat enim in conspectu tanti exercitûs, velut in solitudine destitutus.

V. 15. Jamque lævam, quâ clypeum ad ictus circumferebat, lassaverat, clamantibus amicis, ut ad ipsos desiliret, stabantque excepturi: cùm ille rem ausus est incredibilem atque inauditam, ¹multòque magis ad famam temeritatis quàm gloriæ insignem. Namque in urbem hostium plenam præcipiti saltu semet ipse immisit, cùm vix sperare posset, dimicantem certè et non inultum esse moriturum. Quippe antequàm assurgeret, opprimi poterat, et capi vivus: sed fortè ita libraverat corpus, ²ut se pedibus exciperet. Itaque stans

init pugnam ; et, ne circumiri posset, fortuna providerat. **V**etusta arbor haud procul muro ramos multâ fronde vestitos, velut de industriâ Regem protegentes, objecerat. Hujus spatioso stipiti corpus applicuit, clypeo tela, quæ ex adverso ingerebantur, excipiens. Nam cùm unum procul tot manus peterent, nemo tamen audebat propiùs accedere. Missilia ramis plura quàm clypeo incidebant. Pugnabat pro Rege primùm celebrati nominis fama, deindè ³desperatio, magnum ad honestè moriendum incitamentum : sed ⁴cùm subindè hostis afflueret, jam ingentem vim telorum exceperat clypeo, jam galeam saxa perfregerant, ⁵jam continuo labore gravia genua succiderant. Itaque contemptim, et incautè, qui proximi steterant, incurrerunt : e quibus duos gladio ita excepit, ut ante ipsum exanimis procumberent. Nec cuiquam deindè propiùs incessendi cum animus fuit. Procul jacula sagittasque mittebant.

16. Ille ad omnes ictus expositus, ægrè ⁶jam exceptum poplitibus corpus tuebatur, donec Indus duorum cubitorum sagittam (namque Indis, ut antè diximus, hujus magnitudinis sagittæ erant) ita excussit, ut per thoracem paulùm super latus dextrum infingeret. Quo vulnere afflictus, magnâ vi sanguinis emicante, ⁷remisit arma moribundo similis : adeòque ⁸resolutus, ⁹ut ne ad vellendum quidem telum sufficeret dextra. Itaque ad exspoliandum corpus qui vulneraverat alacer gaudio accurrit. Quem ut injicere corpori suo manus sensit, credo, ultimi dedecoris indignitate commotus, linquentem revocavit animum, et nudum hostis latus ¹⁰subjecto mucrone hausit. Jacebant circa Regem tria corpora, procul stupentibus cæteris. Ille, ut antequàm ultimus spiritus deficeret, dimicans jam extingueretur, clypeo se allevare conatus est : ¹¹et postquàm ad conuitendum nihil supererat virium, dexterâ impendentes ramos complexus, tentabat assurgere. Sed ne sic quidem potens corporis, rursus in genua procumbit, manu provocans hostes, si quis congredi auderet.

17. Tandem Peucestes per aliam oppidi partem, deturbatis propugnatoribus, ¹²muri vestigia persequens, Regi super-

venit. Quo conspecto, Alexander jam non vitæ suæ, sed mortis solatium supervenisse ratus, clypeo fatigatum corpus excepit. Subit inde Timæus, et paulò post Leonatus, huic Aristonus supervenit. Indi quòque cùm intra mœnia Regem esse comperissent, omissis cæteris illuc concurrerunt, urgebantque protegentes. Ex quibus Timæus multis adverso corpore vulneribus acceptis, egregiâque editâ pugnâ cecidit. Peucestes quòque tribus jaculis confossus, non se tamen scuto, sed Regem tuebatur. Leonatus dum avidè ruentes Barbaros submovet, cervice graviter ictâ, semianimis procubuit ante Regis pedes. Jam et Peucestes vulneribus fatigatus ¹³ submiserat clypeum. In Aristono spes ultima hærebat. Hic quoque graviter saucius tantam vim hostium ultrâ sustinere non poterat. ¹⁴ Inter hæc ad Macedonas, Regem cecidisse, fama perlata est. ¹⁵ Terruisset alios, quod illos incitavit. Namque periculi omnis immemores, dolabris perfregère murum, et, quâ moliti erant aditum, irrupère in urbem, Indosque plures fugientes, quàm congredi ausos, ceciderunt. Non senibus, non fœminis, non infantibus pareitur. Quisquis occurrerat, ab illo vulneratum Regem esse credebant. ¹⁶ Tandemque interneccione hostium justæ iræ parentatum est. Ptolemæum, qui postea regnavit, huic pugnae affuisse auctor est Clitarchus, et Timagenes. Sed ipse ¹⁷ scilicet gloriæ suæ non refragatus, abfuisse se, missum in expeditionem, memoriæ tradidit: tanta componentium vetusta rerum monumenta vel ¹⁸ securitas, vel, ¹⁹ par huic vitium, credulitas fuit!

18. Rege in tabernaculo relato, medici lignum hastæ corpori infixum, ²⁰ ita ne spiculum moveretur, abscindunt. Corpore dein nudato, animadvertunt hamos inesse telo, nec aliter id sine perniciæ corporis extrahi posse, quàm ut secando vulnus augerent. ²¹ Cæterùm, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur: quippe ingens telum adactum erat, et penetrâsse in viscera videbatur. Critobulus inter medicos artis eximiæ, sed in tanto periculo territus, manus admoveere metuebat, ²² ne in ipsius caput parum prosperæ curationis recideret eventus.

Lacrymantem eum, ac metuentem, et sollicitudine propemodum exsanguem Rex conspexerat. ²³ "Quid," inquit, "quodve tempus exspectas, et non quamprimùm hoc dolore me saltem moriturum liberas? An times ne reus sis, cùm insanabile vulnus acceperim?" At Critobulus, tandem vel finito, vel dissimulato metu, hortari eum cœpit, ²⁴ ut se continendum præberet, dum spiculum evelleret. ²⁵ Etiam levem corporis motum noxium fore. Rex, cùm affirmasset nihil opus esse iis, qui semet continerent, sicut præceptum erat, sine motu præbuit corpus. Igitur patefacto latius vulnere, et spiculo evulso, ingens vis sanguinis manare cœpit, linquique animo Rex, et caligine oculis offusâ, veluti moribundus extendi. Cùmque profluvium medicamentis frustrâ inhiherent, clamor simul atque ploratus amicorum oritur, Regem expirasse credentium. Tandem constitit sanguis, paulatimque animum recepit, et circumstantes cœpit agnoscere. Toto eo die, ac nocte, quæ secuta est, armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere. Nec priùs recesserunt, quàm compertum est, somno paulisper aequiescere. Hinc certiore spem salutis ejus in castra retulerunt.

VI. 19. Rex, ¹ septem diebus curato vulnere, necdum obductâ cicatrice, cùm audisset convaluisse apud Barbaros famam mortis suæ, duobus navigiis junctis, statui in medium undiquè conspicuum tabernaculum jussit, ex quo se ostenderet ² periisse credentibus: conspectusque ab incolis, ³ spem hostium falso nuncio conceptam inhibuit. ⁴ Secundo deindè amne defluxit, aliquantum intervalli a cæterâ classe præciens, ne quies corpori invalido adhuc necessaria pulsu remorum impediretur. Quarto postquàm navigare cœperat die, pervenit in regionem, desertam quidem ab incolis, sed frumento et pecoribus abundantem. Placuit is locus, et ad suam, et ad militum requiem. Mos erat principibus amicorum, et custodibus corporis, excubare ante prætorium, quoties Regi adversa valetudo incidisset. Hoc tum more quoque servato, universi cubiculum ejus intrant. Ille sollicitus, ne

quid novi afferrent, quia simul venerant, pereontatur num hostium recens nunciaretur adventus.

20. At Craterus, cui mandatum erat, ut amicorum preces perferret ad eum, “⁶ Credisne,” inquit, “adventu magis hostium, ut jam in vallo consisterent, quàm curâ salutis tuæ, ut nunc est tibi vilis, nos esse sollicitos? Quantalibet vis omnium gentium conspiret in nos, impleat armis virisque totum orbem, classibus maria consternat, inusitatas belluas inducat, tu nos præstabis invictos. Sed quis Deorum hoc Mæcedoniæ columen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cùm tam avidè manifestis periculis offeras corpus, ⁷oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum? Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse, aut potest? Eò pervenimus, auspiciū atque imperiū secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce, nulli ad penates suos iter est.”

“⁷ Quod si adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dario dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset, tam promptæ esse te ad omne discrimen audaciæ. Nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac præmium, et ⁸secundis rebus amplior fructus est, et adversis solatium majus. ⁹Tuo verò capite ignobilem vicum emi quis ferat, non tuorum modò militum, sed ullius etiam gentis barbaræ ¹⁰civis, qui tuam magnitudinem novit? Horret animus cogitatione rei, quam paulò antè vidimus. ¹¹Eloqui timeo, invicti corporis spoliis incertissimos manus fuisse injecturos, nisi te ¹²interceptum misericors in nos fortuna servâset.”

“Totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi. ¹³Universos licèt ignominia notes, nemo recusabit luere id, quod, ne admitteret, præstare non potuit. Patere nos, quæso, alio modo esse viles tibi. Quòcumque jusseris, ibimus: obscura pericula, et ignobiles pugnas nobis deposeimus; temetipsum ad ea serva, quæ magnitudinem tuam ¹⁴capiunt. Citò gloria obsolescit in sordidis hostibus. Nec quidquam indignius est, quàm consumi eam, ubi non possit ostendi.” Eadem ferè Ptolemæus, et similia iis cæteri. Jamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant.

¹⁵ ut tandem exsatiatæ laudi modum faceret, ac salutî suæ, id est publicæ, parceret.

21. Grata erat Regi ¹⁶ pietas amicorum. Itaque singulos familiarîus amplexus, considerare jubet, ¹⁷ altiùsque sermone repetito, "Vobis quidem," inquit, "O fidissimi piissimique civium atque amicorum, grates ago, habeoque, non solùm eo nomine, quòd hodiè salutem meam vestræ præponitis, sed quòd a primordiis belli, nullum erga me benevolentiae pignus atque indicium omisistis: adeò ut confitendum sit, nunquàm mihi vitam meam fuisse tam earam, quàm esse cœpit, ut vobis diu frui possim. ¹⁸ Cæterùm non eadem est cogitatio eorum, qui pro me mori optant, et mea; qui quidem hanc benevolentiam vestram virtute meruisse me judico. Vos enim diuturnum fructum ex me, forsitan etiam perpetuum, percipere cupitis. Ego me metior non ætatis spatio, sed gloriæ. Licuit paternis opibus ¹⁹ contento intra Macedoniæ terminos per otium corporis expectare obscuram et ignobilem senectutem. ²⁰ Quanquam ne pigri quidem sibi fata disponunt; sed unicum bonum diuturnam vitam æstimantes sæpè acerba mors occupat. Verùm ego, qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunæ benè computo, diu vixi."

"Orsus a Macedonia imperium Græciæ tenco; Thraciam et Illyrios subegi; Triballis, Medisque impero; Asiam, quæ Hellesponto, quæ rubro mari alluitur, possideo. Jamque haud procul absum a fine mundi. Quem egressus, aliam naturam, alium orbem aperire mihi statui. ²¹ Ex Asiâ in Europæ terminos momento unius horæ transivi. Victor utriusque regionis post nonum regni mei, post vigesimum atque octavum ætatis annum, ²² videorue vobis in excolendâ gloriâ, cui me uni devovi, posse cessare? Ego verò non decro, et ubicumquè pugnabo, in theatro terrarum orbis esse me credam. Dabo nobilitatem ignobilibus locis. Aperiam cunctis gentibus terras, quas natura longè submoverat. In his operibus extingui mihi (si sors ita feret) pulehrum est. Eâ stirpem sum genitus, ut ²³ multam priùs quàm longam vitam debeam optare."

“Obsecro vos, cogitate nos pervenisse in terras, ²⁴ quibus fœminæ ob virtutem celeberrimum nomen est. Quas urbes Semiramis condidit? quas gentes redegit in potestatem? quanta opera molita est? Nondum fœminam æquavimus gloriâ, et jam nos laudis satietas cepit? ²⁵ Dii favcant, majora adhuc restant. Sed ita nostra erunt, quæ nondum attigimus, si nihil parvum duxerimus, in quo magnæ gloriæ locus est. Vos modò me ab intestinâ fraude, et domesticorum insidiis præstate securum; belli Martisque discrimen impavidus subibo. Philippus in acie tutior quàm in theatro fuit. Hostium manus sæpè vitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque Regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quàm ab hoste interemptos numerabitis.”

²⁶ “Cæterùm, quoniam olim rei agitatz in animo meo, nunc promendæ occasio oblata est; mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur, quandocumque excesserit vitâ. ²⁷ Si licuerit, ipse præstabo hoc. Si me ²⁸ præceperit fatum, ²⁹ vos mandâsse mementote.” At tum quidem amicos dimisit. Cæterùm per complures dies ibi stativa habuit.

VII. 22. Hæc dum in Indiâ geruntur, Græci milites, nuper in colonias a Rege deducti circa Bactra, ortâ inter ipsos seditione, defeecerant, ¹ non tam Alexandro infensi, quàm metu supplicii: quippe occisis quibusdam popularium, ² qui validiores erant, arma spectare cœperunt. Et Bactrianâ arce, quæ quasi negligentius asservata erat, occupatâ, Barbaros quoque in societatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui Regis quòque nomen assumpserat, non tam imperii cupidine, quàm in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui auctoritatem ipsius sequebantur. Huic Bicon quidam nationis ejusdem, sed ob æmulationem infestus, comparavit insidias, invitatumque ad epulas per Boxum quemdam Macarianum in convivio occidit. Postero die concione advocatâ Bicon ultrò insidiatum sibi Athenodorum plerisque persuaserat. Sed aliis suspecta fraus erat Biconis, et paulatim in plures cœpit manare suspicio. Itaque Græci milites arma capiunt, occisuri

Biconem, si daretur occasio. Cæterùm principes eorum iram multitudinis mitigaverunt. Præter spem suam Bicon præsentî periculo ereptus, paulò post insidiatus auctoribus salutis suæ est; ejus dolo cognito, et ipsum comprehenderunt, et Boxum. Cæterùm Boxum protinùs placuit interfici, Biconem etiam per cruciatum necari. Jamque corpori tormenta admovebantur, cùm Græci milites, (incertum ob quam causam), lymphatis similes ad arma discurrunt. Quorum fremitu exaudito, qui torquere Biconem jussi erant, omisère, veriti ne id facere tumultuantium vociferatione prohiberentur. Ille, sicut nudatus erat, pervenit ad Græcos, et ³ miserabilis facies supplicio destinati in diversum animos repenti mutavit, dimittique eum jusserunt. Hoc modo pœnâ bis liberatus, cum cæteris, qui colonias a Rege attributas reliquerunt, revertit in patriam. Hæc circa Bactra et Seytharum terminos gesta.

23. Interim Regem duarum gentium ⁴ (de quibus antè dictum est) centum legati adeunt. Omnes curru vehebantur, eximiâ magnitudine corporum, decore habitu: lineæ vestes ⁵ intextæ auro, purpuræque distinctæ. Ei se dedere ipsos, urbes, agrosque referebant, per tot ætates inviolatam libertatem illius primùm fidei ditionique permissuros. Deos sibi deditionis auctores, non metum: quippe ⁶ intactis viribus jugum excipere. Rex, consilio habito, deditos in fidem accepit, stipendio, quod Arachosiis utraque natio pensitabat, imposito. Præterea duo millia et quingentos ⁷ equites imperat: et omnia obedienter a Barbaris facta. Invitatis deindè ad epulas legatis gentium, regulisque, exornari convivium jussit. Centum aurei lecti modicis intervallis positi erant. Lectos circumdederat anlæa, purpurâ auroque fulgentia; ⁸ quidquid aut apud Persas vetere luxu, aut apud Macedonas novâ immutatione corruptum erat, confusis utriusque gentis vitiis, in illo convivio ostendens. Intererat epulis Dioxippus Atheniensis, pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem virium, jam Regi pernotus et gratus. Invidi malignique inerepabant ⁹ per seria et ludum, saginati corporis sequi inutilem belluam; cùm ipsi prælium inirent, oleo madentem præparare ventrem epulis

Eadem igitur in convivio Horratus Macedo jam temulentus exprobrare ei cœpit, et postulare, ut si vir esset, postero die secum ferro decerneret: Regem tandem vel de suâ temeritate, vel de illius ignaviâ judicaturum. Et a Dioxippo, contemptum militarem eludente ferociam, accepta conditio est.

24. Ac postero die Rex, cum etiam acrius certamen exposcerent quia detertere non poterat, destinata exsequi passus est. Ingens hic militum, inter quos erant Græci, qui Dioxippe studebant, convenerat multitudo. Macedo ¹⁰ justa arma sumpserat: æreum clypeum, ¹¹ hastam, quam *sarissam* vocant, lævâ tenens, dextrâ lanceam: gladioque cinctus, velut cum pluribus simul dimicaturus. Dioxippus oleo nitens, et coronatus, lævâ ¹² puniceum amiculum, dextrâ validum nodosumque stipitem præferbat. Ea ipsa res omnium animos expectatione suspenderat: quippe armato congredi nudum, dementia, non temeritas videbatur. Igitur Macedo, haud dubius eminens interfici ¹³ posse, lanceam emisit: quam Dioxippus cum exiguâ corporis declinatione vitasset, antequàm ille hastam transferret in dextram, assiluit et stipite mediam eam fregit. Amisso utroque telo, Macedo gladium cœperat stringere: ¹⁴ quem occupatum complexu, pedibus repenti subductis, Dioxippus arietavit in terram: creptoque gladio, pedem super cervicem jacentis imposuit, stipitem intentans, ¹⁵ clisurusque eo victum, nî prohibitus esset a Rege. Tristis spectaculi eventus non Macedonibus modò, sed etiam Alexandro fuit, maximè quia Barbari affuerant: quippe celebratam Macedonum fortitudinem ad ludibrium recidisse verebatur. Hinc ad criminationem invidorum adapertæ sunt aures Regis. Et post paucos dies inter epulas aureum poculum ¹⁶ ex composito subducitur: ministrique quasi amisissent, quod amoverant, Regem adeunt. Sæpè minus est constantiæ in ¹⁷ rubore, quàm in culpâ. Conjectum oculorum, quibus ut fur destinabatur, Dioxippus ferre non potuit. Et cum excessisset convivio, litteris conscriptis, quæ Regi redderentur, ferro se interemit. Graviter mortem ejus tulit Rex, existimans indignationis esse,

non pœnitentiæ testem; ¹⁸ utique postquàm falsò insimulatum eum, nimium invidiorum gaudium ostendit.

VIII. 25. Indorum legati dimissi domos, paucis post diebus cum donis revertuntur. Trecenti erant equites, mille triginta currus, quos quadrijugi equi ducebant; lineæ vestis aliquantum, mille scuta Indica, et ¹ ferri candidi talenta centum; leonesque raræ magnitudinis, et tigres, utrumque animal ad mansuetudinem domitum; lacertarum quoque ingentium pelles, et dorsa testudinum. Cratero deinde imperat Rex, ² haud procul amne, per quem erat ipse navigaturus, copias duceret. Eos autem, qui comitari eum solebant, imponit in naves, et in fines Mallorum secundo amne devchitur. Inde Sabracas adiit, validam Indiæ gentem, quæ ³ populi, non Regum imperio regebatur. Sexaginta millia peditum habebant, equitum octo millia: has copias currus quingenti sequebantur. Tres duces spectatos virtute bellicâ elegerant. At qui in agris erant proximi flumini, (frequentes autem rivos maximè in ripâ habebant), ut vidère totum amnem, ⁴ quâ prospici poterat, navigiis constratum, et tot militum arma fulgentia, territi novâ facie, Deorum exercitum, et alium Liberum Patrem, celebre in illis gentibus nomen, adventare credebant. ⁶ Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus, variæque nautarum voces hortantium, pavidas aures impleverant. Ergò universi ad eos, qui in armis erant, currunt, ⁶ furere clamitantes, cum Diis prælium inituros. Navigia non posse numerari, quæ invictos veherent. Tantumque in exercitum suorum intulère terroris, ut legatos mitterent gentem dedituros.

26. His in fidem acceptis, ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit. ⁷ Nihilò plus animi his fuit, quàm cæteris fuerat. Itaque oppido ibi condito, quod Alexandriam appellari jusserat, fines eorum, qui Musicani appellantur, intravit. ⁸ Illic de Teriolte Satrape, quem Paropamisadis præfecerat, iisdem arguentibus, cognovit: multaque avarè ac superbè fecisse convictum, interficere jussit. Oxartes Prætor Bactrianorum non absolutus modò, sed etiam jure amoris amplioris im-

perii donatus est finibus. Musicanis deinde in ditionem redactis, urbi eorum præsidium imposuit. Inde Præstos, et ipsam Indiæ gentem perventum est. Oxycanus Rex erat, qui se munitæ urbi cum magnâ manu popularium incluserat. Hanc Alexander tertio die quàm cœperat obsidere, expugnavit. Et Oxycanus cùm in arcem confugisset, legatos de conditione deditionis misit ad Regem. Sed antequam adirent eum, duæ turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant, per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem: quâ captâ, Oxycanus cum paucis repugnans occiditur. Dirutâ igitur arce, et omnibus captivis venundatis, Sabi regis fines ingressus est, multisque oppidis in fidem acceptis, validissimam gentis urbem cuniculo cepit. Barbaris ⁹ simile monstri visum est, rudibus militarium operum; quippe in mediâ fermè urbe armati terrâ existebant, ¹⁰ nullo suffossi specüs antè vestigio facto. Octoginta millia Indorum in eâ regione cæsa Clitarchus est auctor, multosque captivos ¹¹ sub coronâ ¹² venisse.

27. Rursus Musicani defecerant, ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis, eundemque defectionis auctorem, adduxit ad Regem. Quo Alexander in crucem sublato, rursus anmem, in quo classem exspectare se jusserat, repetit. Quarto deinde die, secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum quâ iter in regnum erat Sabi. Nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani detrectabant imperium, et clausurant portas. Quorum paucitate contemptâ, Rex quingentos Agrianos mœnia subire jusserat, et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem, secuturum profectò, si fugere eos crederet. Agriani (sicut imperatum erat) lacessito hoste, subito terga vertunt, quos Barbari effusè sequentes, in alios, inter quos ipse Rex erat, incidunt. Renovato ergò prælio, ex tribus millibus Barbarorum sexcenti cæsi sunt, mille capti, cæteri mœnibus urbis inclusi. ¹³ Sed non ut primâ specie læta victoria, ita eventus quoque fuit: quippe Barbari veneno tinxerant gladios. Itaque saucii subinde exspirabant. Nec causa tam ¹⁴ strenuæ mortis excogitari poterat a medicis, cùm etiam leves plagæ insanabiles essent. ¹⁵ Barbari autem spe-

raverant, incautum et temerarium Regem ¹⁶ excipi posse. ¹⁷ Et fortè inter promptissimos dimicans, intactus evaserat.

28. Præcipuè Ptolemæus, lævo humero leviter quidem saucius, sed ¹⁸ majore periculo quàm vulnere affectus, Regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine conjunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant; certè pellice ejus ortum constabat. Idem corporis custos, promptissimusque bellator, et pacis artibus, quàm militiæ major et clarior, ¹⁹ modico civilique cultu, liberalis imprimis adituque facilis, nihil ex fastu regio assumpserat. Ob hæc Regi an popularibus carior esset dubitari poterat: tum certè primùm expertus suorum animos, adeò ut fortunam, in quam postea ascendit, in illo periculo Macedones ominati esse videantur. Quippe non levior illis Ptolemæi fuit cura, quàm Regi; qui et prælio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolemæo assideret, lectum, in quo ipse acquiesceret, jussit inferri. In quem ut se recepit, protinùs ²⁰ altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus, per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis ²¹ oblatam herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset. Colorem quòque herbæ referebat, ²² agniturum, si quis reperisset, affirmans; inventamque deinde, quippe a multis simul erat requisita, vulneri imposuit: protinùsque dolore finito, intra breve spatium cicatrix quòque obducta est. Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, seipsos urbemque dediderunt. Hinc in proximam gentem *Pataliam* perventum est. Rex erat Mæris, qui urbe desertâ in montes profugerat. Itaque Alexander oppido potitur, agrosque populatur. Magnæ inde prædæ actæ sunt pecorum armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. Ducibus deinde sumptis annis peritis, defluxit ad insulam medio fermè alveo ²³ enatam.

IX. 29. Ibi diutiùs subsistere coactus, ¹ quia duces socordiùs asservati profugerant, misit qui conquirerent alios: ² nec repertis, pervicax cupido incessit visendi Oceanum, adeundique terminos mundi; ut sine regionis peritis, flumini ignoto caput suum, totque fortissimorum virorum salutem, permetteret. Navigabant ergò, omnium, per quæ ferebantur

ignari: quantùm indè abesset mare, quæ gentes colerent, quàm placidum amnis os, ² quàm patiens longarum navium esset, aneeps. et cæca æstimatio augurabatur. Unum erat temeritatis solatium, perpetua felicitas. Jam ⁴quadringenta stadia processerant, cùm gubernatores agnoscere ipsos ⁵auram maris, et haud procul videri sibi Oceanum abesse, indicant Regi. Lætus ille hortari nauticos cœpit, incumberent remis, adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expetitur. Jam nihil gloriæ deesse, nihil obstarè virtuti. Sine ullo Martis discrimine, sine sanguine orbem terræ ab illis capi. Ne naturam quidem longiùs posse procedere; brevi incognita, nisi immortalibus, esse visuros. Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse sperabat. Illi scrutati omnia tuguria, tandem latentes reperere. Qui interrogati quàm procul abessent mari, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne famâ quidem accepisse. Cæterùm tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quæ corrumpet dulcem. Intellectum est mare destinari ab ignaris naturæ ejus. Itaque ingenti alacritate nautici remigant, et proximo quoque die, ⁶quo propiùs spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor animorum. Tertio jam die mixtum flumini ⁷subibat mare, leni adhuc æstu confundente dispares undas. Tum aliam ⁸insulam medio amni sitam evecti paulò lentiùs, quia cursus æstu reverberabatur, applicant classem, et ad comœatus petendos discurrunt, ⁹securi casus ejus qui supervenit ignaris.

30. Tertia fermè hora erat, cùm ¹⁰statâ vice Oceanus exæstuans inveli cœpit, et retrò flumen urgere. ¹¹Quod primò coërcitum, deindè vehementiùs pulsum, majore impetu adversum agebatur, quàm torrentia præcipiti alveo incurrunt. Ignota vulgo freti natura erat, monstraque, et iræ Deum indicia cernere videbantur. Identidem intumescere mare, et in campos paulò antè siccios descendere superfusum. Jamque ¹²levatis navigiis, et totâ classe dispersâ, qui expositi erant, undique ad naves trepidi et improvise malo attoniti recurrunt. Sed in tumultu festinatio quòque tarda est. Ili contis navi

gia applicabant; hi, dum considerent, remos aptari prohibebant. Quidam enavigare properantes, sed non ¹³ exspectatis qui simul esse debebant, ¹⁴ clauda et inhabilia navigia languidè moliebantur. Aliæ navium inconsultè ruentes omnes receperant; pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. Clamor hinc exspectare, hinc ire jubentium, dissonæque voces nusquam idem ac unum tendentium, non oculorum modò usum, sed etiam aurium abstulerant. Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quidquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat, nec imperium a territis incompositisque servari. Ergò collidi inter se naves ¹⁵ abstergerique invicem remi, et alii aliorum navigia urgere cœperunt. Crederes non unius exercitûs classem vehi, sed duorum navale inîsse certamen. Incutiebantur puppibus proræ, premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant. Jurgantium ira ¹⁶ perveniebat etiam ad manus.

31. Jamque æstus totos circa flumen campos inundaverat, tumulis duntaxat eminentibus, veluti insulis parvis, in quos plerique trepidi omissis navigiis enare cœperunt. Dispersa classis partim in præaltâ aquâ stabat, quâ subsederant valles; partim in vado hæcebat, utcumque inæquale terræ fastigium occupaverant undæ, cùm subitò novus et pristino major terror incutitur. Reciprocare cœpit mare, magno tractu aquis in suum fretum recurrentibus, reddebatque terras paulò antè profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia, alia præcipientur in proras, alia in latera procumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum remorumque fragmentis. Miles nec egredi in terram, nec in naves subsistere audebat, identidem præsentibus graviora quæ sequerentur exspectans. Vix quæ perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebant; in sicco naufragia, in amni mare: nec finis malorum; ¹⁷ quippe æstum paulò pòst mare relaturum, quo navigia allevarentur, ignari, famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur. Belluæ quoque fluctibus destitutæ, terribiles vagabantur. Jamque nox appetebat, et Regem quòque desperatio salutis ægritudine affecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curæ obruunt, quin totâ

nocte præsideret in speculis, equitesque præmitteret ad os amnis, ut cùm mare rursùs exæstuare sensissent, præcederent. Navigia quòque lacerata refici, et eversa fluctibus erigi jubet, paratosque esse et intentos cùm rursùs mare terras inundasset.

32. Totà eà nocte inter vigilias adhortationesque consumptà, celeriter equites ingenti cursu refugère, et secutus est æstus. Qui primò, aquis leni tractu subeuntibus, cœpit levare navigia: mox totis campis inundans, etiam impulit classem: plaususque militum nauticorumque, insperatam salutem immo-dico celebrantium gaudio, littoribus ripisque resonabat. Unde tantum redisset subitò mare? quò pridie refugisset? quænam esset ejusdem elementi natura, modò discors, modò imperio temporum obnoxia? mirabundi requirebant. Rex cùm ex eo, quod acciderat, conjectaret, post solis ortum ¹⁸ statum tempus esse, medià nocte, ut æstum occuparet, cum paucis navigiis secundo amne defluxit: erectusque os ejus quadringenta stadia processit in mare. Tandem voti sui compos, præsidiis et maris et locorum Diis sacrificio facto, ad classem rediit.

X. 33. Hinc adversum flumen subiit classis; et altero die appulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cujus ignota natura plerosque decepit, temerè ingressos aquam; quippe ¹ scabies corpora invasit: et contagium morbi etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. Leonato deindè præmisso, ut puteos foderet, ² quà terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur (quippe sicca erat regio) ipse cum copiis substitit, vernum tempus exspectans. Interim et urbes portusque condidit. Nearchò atque Onesierito, nauticæ rei peritis, imperavit, ut validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum, progressique quoad tutò possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amne, vel Euphrate subire eos posse, cùm reverti ad se vellent. Jamque mitigatà hyeme et navibus, quæ inutiles videbantur, crematis, terrà ducebat exercitum: Nonis castris in regionem Arabitarum, inde totidem diebus in Gedrosiorum regionem perventum est. Liber hic populus, concilio

habito, dedit se, nec quidquam deditis præter commeatus imperatum est. Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen; *Arabon* incolæ appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit, quam emensus in *Oritas* transit. Ibi majorem exercitûs partem *Hephaestioni* tradidit: levem armaturam cum *Ptolemæo Leonatoque* partitus est. Tria simul agmina populabantur *Indos*, magnæque prædæ actæ sunt. Maritimos *Ptolemæus*, cæteros ipse Rex et ab aliâ parte *Leonatus* urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem condidit, ³deductique sunt in eam *Arachosii*. Hinc pervenit ad maritimos *Indos*. Desertam vastamque regionem latè tenent, ac ne cum finitimis quidem ullo commercii jure miscentur. Ipsa solitudo naturâ quoque immitia efferavit ingenia. Prominent ungues nunquam recisi. Comæ hirsutæ, et intonsæ sunt. Tuguria conchis et cæteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti, piscibus sole duratis, et majorum quoque belluarum, quas fluctus ejicit, carne vescuntur. Consumptis igitur alimentis, *Macedones* primò inopiam, deindè ad ultimum famem sentire cœperunt, radices palmarum (namque sola ea arbor gignitur) ubique ⁴rimantes. Sed cùm hæc quoque alimenta defecerant, jumenta cedere aggressi, ne equis quidem abstinebant: et cùm deessent quæ sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus propter quæ ultima *Orientis* peragraverant, cremabant incendio.

34. Famem deindè pestilentia secuta est; quippe insalubrium ciborum novi succi, ad hoc itineris labor, et ægritudo animi, vulgaverant morbos; et, nec manere sine elade, nec progredi poterant. Manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. Ergò strati erant campi penè pluribus semivivis, quàm cadaveribus. Ac ne leviùs quidem ægri sequi poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur, ⁵tantum singulis ad spem salutis ipsos proficere credentibus, quantum itineris festinando præriperent. Igitur qui defecerant, notos ignotosque ut allevarentur, orabant. Sed nec jumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat, ⁶imminentisque etiam ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergò sæpiùs revo-

cati ne respicere quidem suos sustinebant, misericordiâ in formidinem versâ. Illi relictî ⁷ Deos testes, sacra communia, Regisque implorabant opem. Cûmque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem desperatione versi, parem suo exitum, similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur. Rex dolore simul et pudore anxius, quia causa tantæ cladis ipse esset, ad Phrataphernem Parthorum Satrapem misit, qui juberet camelis cocta cibaria afferre. Alios quoque finitimarum regionum præfectos, certiores ⁸ necessitatis suæ fecit: ⁹ nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame duntaxat vindicatus exercitus, tandem in Gedrosiæ fines perducitur. Omnium rerum sola fertilis regio est, in quâ stativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret. Hic Leonati litteras accipit, conflixisse ipsum cum octo millibus peditum, et quingentis equitibus Oritarum, prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuncius venit, Orzinem et Zariaspem nobiles Persas defectionem molientes oppressos a se, in vinculis esse.

35. Præposito igitur regioni Siburtio (namque Memnon Præfectus ejus nuper interierat morbo) in Carmaniam ipse processit. Aspastes erat Satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse dum in Indiâ Rex esset. Quem occurrentem, dissimulatâ irâ, comiter allocutus, dum exploraret quæ delata erant, in eodem honore habuit. Cûm Indiæ Præfecti (sicut imperatum erat) equorum, jumentorumque jugalium vim ingentem, ex omni, quæ sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant impedimenta, restituit. Arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum: quippe haud procul a Perside aberant, non pacatâ modò sed etiam opulentâ. Igitur (ut suprâ dictum est) æmulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solûm, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed etiam insaniam, (sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primûm institutus, sive bacchantium lusus), animo super humanum fastigium elato vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni jubet. Liminibus ædium crateras vino repletas, et alia eximiæ magnitudinis vasa disponi. Vehicula deinde ¹⁰ constrata, ut plures capere milites possent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candi-

dis velis, alia veste pretiosâ. Primi ibant amici, et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coronisque. Alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copiâ ejusque adornatis, commessabundus exercitus, armis, quæ maximè decora erant, circumpendentibus: ipsum convivasque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis ¹¹ prægravis. Hoc modo per dies septem bæchabundum agmen incessit, ¹² parata præda, si quid victis saltem adversus comessantes animi fuisset: mille meherculè viri, modò et sobrii, septem dierum crapulâ graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. Sed fortuna, ¹³ quæ rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hîc quòque militiæ probrum vertit in gloriam. Et ¹⁴ præsens ætas, et posteritas deindè mirata est, per gentes nondum satis domitas incessisse temulentos, Barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. Hunc apparatus carnifex sequebatur. Quippe Satrapes Aspastes (de quo antè dictum est) interfici jussus est: adcò nec luxuriæ quidquam crudelitas, nec crudelitati luxuria obstat.



LIBER X.

ARGUMENTUM.

1. Cleander et alii duces delictorum veniam impetrant, dum nonnulli minùs facinorosi puniuntur. Alexandri consilium de Occidentali Europæ parte perlustrandâ: liberalitas erga Abisaris filium; et in Orsinem, nobilissimum Satrapam, crudelitas.

2. Dum turbatam Græciæ statum pacare, et ex militibus (ære alieno liberatis) alios remittere domum, alios retinere cogitat, in castris oritur seditio: quam gravi oratione et regia auctoritate compescit.

3. Seditiosis supplicio affectis, totius exercitûs dissipat consilia, et Persis credit corporis sui custodiam.

4. Mors Hephestionis. Alexander ingreditur Babylonem. Conjuratio in Alexandrum, qui veneno extinguitur.

5. Dicta et gesta ejusdem ante obitum. Quantum a suis fuerit desideratus; præcipuè verò a Darii matre; quæ dolori succumbens, paulò post extincta est. Alexandri elogium.

6. De successore Alexandri inter magnates consultatio, et variæ sententiæ.

7. Aridaeus Philippe genitus, Meleagro promovente, a quibusdam Rex salutatur. Undè civilis belli semina.

8. Primarii duces Meleagri artibus occurrunt. Aridaeus autem, pacis studiosus, tumultum componere mediâ quâdam ratione conatur.

9. Perdicas Meleagrum et trecentos ferè alios, qui eum secuti fuerant, dolo opprimit.

10. Alexandri imperium in partes divisum, ejus summa Aridaeo tributa, Provinciæ autem magnatibus. Defuncti corpus ab amicis curatum, et tandem Alexandriam Ægypti translatum est.

I. 1. ISDEM ferè diebus Cleander et Sitalees, et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem jussu Regis occiderant; ¹quinque millia peditum cum equitibus mille. Sed et accusatores eos ²e provinciâ, cui præfuerant, sequebantur: nec tot facinora, quot admiserant, compensare poterant cædis perquam gratæ Regi ministerio. Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinuerant; virginesque et principes fœminarum, stupra perpressæ, corporum ludibria deflebant. Invisum Macedonum nomen avaritia eorum ac libido Barbaris fecerat. Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandri furor, qui nobilem virginem constupratam, servo suo pellicem dederat. Plerique amicorum Alexandri, non tam criminum quæ palàm objiciebantur, atrocitatem, quàm memoriam occisi per eos Parmenionis, ³quod tacitum prodesse reis apud Regem poterat, intuebantur; læti recidissee iram in iræ ministros, nec ullam potentiam scelere quæsitam cuiquam esse diuturnam. Rex, cognitâ causâ, pronunciavit, ab accusatoribus unum et id maximum crimen esse præteritum, ⁴desperationem salutis suæ; nunquam enim talia ausuros, qui ipsum ex Indiâ sospitem aut optassent reverti, aut credidissent reversurum. Igitur hos quidem vinxit: de autem militum, qui sævitæ eorum ministri fuerant, interfici jussit. Eodem die sumptum est supplicium de iis quodque ⁵quos auctores defectionis Persarum Craterus adduxerat.

2. Haud multò post Nearchus et Onesicritus, quos longiùs in Oceanum procedere jusserat, superveniunt. Nunciabant autem quædam audita, alia comperta. Insulam ostio annis subjectam auro abundare, inopem equorum esse: singulos equos ab iis, qui ex continenti trajicere auderent, singulis

talentis emi. Plenum esse belluarum mare; ⁶ æstu secunde eas ferri, magnarum navium corpora æquantes: ⁷ truci cantu deterritas sequi classem, cum magno æquoris strepitu, velut demersa navigia, subîsse aquas. ⁸ Cætera incolis crediderant: inter quæ rubrum mare, non a colore undarum, ut plerique crederent, sed ab Erythrâ Rege appellari. Esse haud procul a continenti insulam palmis frequentibus consitam, et in medio ferè nemore columnam eminere, Erythræ Regis monumentum, litteris gentis ejus scriptam. Adjiciebant, navigia quæ lixas mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus, in insulam esse transmissa, nec deindè ⁹ ab his postea visa. Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus, rursus eos ¹⁰ terram legere jubet, donec ad Euphratem appellerent classem; indè adverso amne Babylonem subituros. Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat, omni ad Orientem maritimâ regione perdomitâ, ex Syriâ petere Africam, Carthagini infensus: indè Numidiæ solitudinibus peragratîs, cursum Gades dirigere. Ibi namque columnas Herculis esse, fama vulgaverat. Hispanias deindè, quam Iberiam Græci a flumine Ibero vocabant, ¹¹ adire, et prætervehi Alpes, Italiæque oram, undè in Epirum brevis cursus est. Igitur Mesopotamiæ Prætoribus imperavit, materiâ in Libano monte cæsâ, devectâque ad urbem Syriæ Thapsacum, octingentarum carinas navium ponere; septiremes omnes esse, deducique Babylonem: Cypriorum Regibus imperatum, ut æs, stupamque et vela præberent. Hæc agenti, Pori et Taxilis Regum litteræ traduntur, Abisarem morbo, Philippum Præfectum ipsius ex vulnere interiisse, oppressosque qui vulnerassent eum. Igitur Philippo substituit Eudæmonem: Dux erat Thracum. Abisaris regnum filio ejus attribuit.

3. Ventum est deindè Persagadas: Persica est gens, cujus Satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes Barbaros eminens. Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam Rege Persarum. Opes et a majoribus traditas habebat, et ipse longâ imperii possessione cumulaverat. Is Regi cum omnis generis donis, non ipsi modò ea, sed etiam amicis ejus datu

rus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur, currusque argento et auro adornati. Pretiosa supellex, nobiles gemmæ, aurea magni ponderis vasa, vestesque purpureæ, et signati argenti talentum quatuor millia. Cæterum tanta benignitas Barbaro causa mortis fuit. Nam cum amicos omnes Regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoæ spadoni, qui Alexandro obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, nullum honorem habuit: admonitusque a quibusdam, quam Alexandro cordi esset, respondit, amicos Regis, non scorta se colere, nec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effœminarentur. His auditis, spado potentiam, flagitio et dedecore quæsitam, in caput nobilissimi et insontis ¹²exercuit. Namque gentis ejusdem levissimos falsis criminibus adstruxit, monitos tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse jussisset. Interim, quoties sine arbitris erat, credulas Regis aures implebat, ¹³dissimulans causam iræ, quod gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. Nondum suspectus erat Orsines; ¹⁴jam tamen vilior. Reus enim in secreto agebatur, latentis periculi ignarus: et importunissimum scortum, ne in stupro quidem et dedecoris patientiâ fraudis oblitum, quoties amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinem modò avaritiæ, interdum etiam defectionis agebat.

4. Jam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia; et fatum, ejus inevitabilis sors est, appetebat. Fortè enim sepulchrum Cyri Alexander jussit aperiri, in quo erat conditum ejus corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat: quippe ità famâ Persæ vulgaverant. Sed præter clypeum ejus putrem, arcus duos Scythicos, et acinacem, nihil reperit. Cæterum coronâ aureâ impositâ, amiculo, cui assueverat ipse, ¹⁵solium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit; miratus, tanti nominis Regem, tantis præditum opibus, haud pretiosius sepultum esse, quam si fuisset e plebe. Proximus erat lateri spado, qui Regem intuens, “Quid mirum,” inquit, “est, inania sepulchra esse Regum, cum Satraparum domus aurum indè egestum capere non possint?” ¹⁶Quod ad me attinet, ipse hoc bustum antea non vide-

ram, sed ex Dario ità accepi, tria millia talentum condita esse cum Cyro. Hinc illa benignitas in te, ut, quod impunè habere non poterat Orsines, donando etiam gratiam iniret." Concitaverat jam animum in iram, cum hi, quibus negotium idem dederat, superveniunt. Hinc Bagoas, hinc ab eo subornati, falsis criminibus occupant aures. Antequam accusari se suspicaretur Orsines, in vincula traditus est. Non contentus supplicio insontis spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens, "Audieram," inquit, "in Asià olim regnasse fœminas: hoc verò novum est, regnare castratum." Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum, nec insontis modò, sed eximiæ quòque benignitatis in Regem.

5. Eodem tempore Phradates regnum affectasse suspectus occiditur. ¹⁷ Cœperat esse præceps ¹⁸ ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda. Scilicet res secundæ valent commutare naturam; et rarò quisquam ¹⁹ erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulò antè Lyncestem Alexandrum, delatum a duobus indicibus, damnare non sustinuerat; humiliores quòque reos, contra suam voluntatem, quia cæteris videbantur insontes, passus absolvi: hostibus victis regna rediderat. Ad ultimum a semetipso degeneravit usque adeò, ut, ²⁰ adversus libidinem animi, arbitrio scortis aliis regna daret, aliis adimeret vitam. Iisdem ferè diebus litteras a Cœno accepit de rebus in Europâ et Asià gestis, dum ipse Indiam subigit. Zopyrio Thraciæ præpositus, dum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus procellisque subito coortis, cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. Quâ cognitâ clade, Seuthes Odrysas populares suos ad defectionem compulerat. Amissâ propemodum Thraciâ, ne Græcia ²¹ quidem

[inconcessa tumultu fuit. Cum enim Alexander, ex Indiâ reversus, præfectos, qui, desperato ejus reditu, superbe imperarant, severius punisset, cæteri quoque, provincialium metuentes accusationem, ope mercenariorum militum, quibus præerant, et fugâ sibi salutem quærebant. Harpalus, Babylonie post Mazæi mortem præfectus, cum luxuriose vixisset, veniâ desperatâ, v millibus talentum correptis, cum vi millibus mercenariorum in Græciam profugit, quibus persuaserat, se

pecuniâ effecturum, ut Atheniensium civitas adversus regem arma capiat, et communem causam tueatur.]

II. 6. Igitur triginta navibus Sunium ¹ transmittunt, (promontorium est Atticæ terræ), unde ² portum urbis petere decreverant. His cognitis, Rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque juxtâ infestus, classem parari jubet, Athenas protinus petiturus. Quod consilium dum agit, clam litteræ ei redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas, pecuniâ conciliasse sibi principum animos: mox, consilio plebis habito, jussum urbe excedere ad Græcos milites pervenisse a quibus interceptum et a Thimbrone quodam interemptum per insidias. His lætus, in Europam trajiciendi consilium omisit. Sed exules, præter eos qui civili sanguine aspersi erant, recipi ab omnibus Græcorum civitatibus, queis pulsati erant, jussit. Et Græci haud ausi imperium aspernari, quanquam solvendarum legum id principium esse censebant, bona quòque, quæ exstarent, restituere damnatis. ³ Soli Athenienses, non suæ modò, sed etiam publicæ vindices libertatis, colluvionem omnium ordinum quia ægre ferebant, (non regio imperio, sed legibus moribusque patriis regi assueti), prohibuere finibus; omnia potius toleraturi, quàm purgamenta quondam urbis suæ, tunc etiam exilii, admitterent. Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis, tredecim millia peditum, et duo millia equitum, quæ in Asiâ retineret, eligi jussit; existimans, modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus locis præsidia disposuisset; nuperque conditas urbes, quas colonis replèssent, res renovare cupientibus obstare credebat.

7. Cæterùm, priusquam seecerneret quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites ⁴ æs alienum profiterentur. Grave plerisque esse compererat; et quanquam ipsorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. Illi tentari ipsos rati, quò facilius ⁵ ab integris sumptuosos discerneret, prolata aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et Rex satis gnarus, ⁶ professioni æris pudorem, non contumaciam, obstare, mensas totis castris poni jussit, et ⁷ decem millia talentorum proferri. Tum demum ⁸ fide factâ professi sunt; nec ampliùs ex tant

pecuniâ quàm centum et triginta talenta superfuere: adeò ille exercitus, tot ditissimarum gentium victor, plus tamen victoriæ quàm prædæ deportavit ex Asiâ. Cæterùm, ut cognitum est alios remitti domum, alios retineri, perpetuam cum regni sedem in Asiâ habiturum rati, vecordes et disciplinæ militaris immemores, seditiosis vocibus castra complent, Regemque ferocius quàm aliàs adorti, omnes simul missionem postulare cœperunt, deformia ora cicatricibus, canitiemque capitum ostentantes. Nec aut Præfectorum castigatione, aut ⁹ verecundiâ Regis deterriti, tumultuoso clamore et militari violentiâ volentem loqui inhihebant; palàm professi, nusquam inde, nisi in patriam, vestigium esse moturos. Tandem silentio facto, magis quia ¹⁰ motum esse credebant, quàm quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset, expectabant. Ille, “ Quid hæc,” inquit, “repens ¹¹ consternatio, et tam procax atque effusa licentia denunciat? Eloqui timeo: palàm certè rupistis imperium, et precariò Rex sum, cui non alloquendi, non ¹² noscendi monendique, aut intuendi vos jus reliquistis. Equidem cùm alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulò post deportare statuerim, tam illos acclamantes video qui abituri sunt, quàm hos cum quibus præmissos subsequi statui. Quid hoc est rei? Dispari in causâ idem est omnium clamor. ¹³ Pervelim scire, utrùm qui discedunt, an qui retinentur, de me querantur.”

8. Crederes uno ore omnes sustulisse clamorem. Ita pariter ex totâ concione responsum est, “ Omnes queri.” Tum ille, “ Non herculè,” inquit, “ potest fieri, ut ¹⁴ adducar, querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse quam ostenditis, ¹⁵ in quâ major pars exercitus non est; utpotè cùm plures dimiserim, quàm retenturus sum. Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim Regem universus exercitus deseruit? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos: sed est quidam in illis pudor a cæteris destitutos relinquendi.”

“ Verùm ego tam furiosæ consternationis oblitus, remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem herculè spem quam ex

vobis conceperam, damno: nec ut cum militibus meis (jam enim esse destitistis) sed, ut cum ingratis operis, agere decrevi. Secundis rebus, quæ circumfluunt vos, insanire cœpistis, obliti statûs ejus quem beneficio exuistis meo: Digni herculè qui in eodem consenesceatis; quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quàm secundam regere fortunam."

"En tandem! Illyriorum paulò antè et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modò sub Philippo seminudis, amicula ex purpurâ ¹⁶ sordent. Aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt. Ligneæ enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta, rubiginemque gladiatorum. ¹⁷ Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi, et quingenta talenta æris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex haud ampliùs quàm sexaginta talentorum esset, meorum operum fundamenta; quibus tamen (¹⁸ absit invidia) imperium maximæ terrarum partis imposui."

"Asiæne pertæsum est, quæ vos gloriâ rerum gestarum Diis pares fecit? In Europam ire properatis, Rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum defuturum viaticum fuerit, nî æs alienum luissem, ¹⁹ nempè ex Asiaticâ prædâ. Nec pudet ²⁰ profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia circumferentes, reverti velle ad liberos conjugesque, quibus pauci præmia victoriæ potestis ostendere. Nam cæterorum, dum etiam spei vestræ obviâ itis, arma quodque pignori sunt. ²¹ Bonis verò militibus cariturus sum, pellicum suarum concubinis; quibus hoc solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod impenditur."

"Proindè fugientibus me pateant limites. Facessite hinc ocius. Ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: liberate oculos meos, ingratis cives. Læti vos excipient parentes liberique, sine vestro Rege redeuntibus! obviâ ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! Triumphabo meherculè de fugâ vestrà: et ubicumque ero, ²² expetam pœnas, hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo, præferendoque vobis. Jam autem scietis, et quantum sine Rege valeat exercitus, et quid opis in me uno sit." Desiluit deindè frendens de tribunali, et in medium armatorum agmen se immisit; notatosque, qui ferocissimè oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit:

nec ausos repugnare, tredecim asservandos custodibus corporis tradidit.

III. 9. Quis crederet sævam paulò antè concionem obtorpuisse subito metu? et, ¹ cùm ad supplicium videret trahi, nihil ausos graviora quàm cæteros;

[² tam effusam antea licentiam, atque seditiosam militum violentiam ita compressam, ut non modò nullus ex omnibus irruenti Regi restiterit; verùm etiam cuncti pavore exanimati attonitis similes, quid de ipsis quòque Rex statuendum censeret, suspensâ mente expectarent? ³ Itaque],

sive nominis, quod gentes quæ sub Regibus sunt inter Deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio, sive fiducia tantâ vi exercentis imperium, conterruit eos, singulare certè ediderunt patientiæ exemplum; adeòque non sunt accensi supplicio commilitonum, cùm sub noctem interfectos esse nôssent, ut nihil omiserint, quod singuli magis obedienter ac piè facerent. Nam cùm postero die prohibiti aditu venissent, Asiaticis modò militibus admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidère clamorem, denunciantes se protinùs esse morituros, si Rex perseveraret irasci. At ille ⁴ pervicacis ad omnia, quæ agitâsset, animi, peregrinorum militum concionem advocari jubet, Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis; et cùm frequentes coïssent, adhibito interprete, talem orationem habuit:

10. "Cùm ex Europâ trajicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. Nec deceptus sum, ⁵ quod de his credidi famæ. Sed ad illa hoc quòque accessit, quòd video fortes viros erga Reges suos pietatis invictæ. Luxu ⁶ omnia fluere credideram, et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates. At herculè munia militiæ hoc animorum corporumque robore impigrè toleratis; et cùm fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quàm fidem colitis. ⁷ Hoc ego nunc primùm profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et delectum e vobis juniorum habui, et vos meorum militum corpori immiseui. Idem habitus, eadem arma sunt vobis. Obsequium verò et patientia imperii longè præstantior est quàm cæteris. Ergò ipse Oxatris Persæ filiam

mecum in matrimonio junxi, non dedignatus ex captivâ liberos tollere. ⁶ Mox deindè cùm stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darii filiam duxi; proximisque amicorum auctor fui, ex captivis generandi liberos, ut hoc sacro fœdere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. Proindè genitos esse vos mihi, non ascitos milites, credite. Asiæ et Europæ unum atque idem regnum est; Macedonum vobis arma do. Inveteravi peregrinam novitatem: et cives mei estis et milites. Omnia eundem ducunt colorem. Nec Persis Macedonum mores adumbrare, nec Macedonibus Persarum imitari indecorum est. Ejusdem juris esse debent, qui sub eodem Rege ⁹ victuri sunt."

[Hac oratione habitâ, Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit. Persas satellites, Persas apparitores fecit. Per quos cùm Macedones, qui huic seditioni occasionem dedissent, vineti ad supplicia traherentur, unum ex iis auctoritate et ætate gravem, ad Regem ita locutum ferunt.]

IV. 11. "Quousque," inquit, "animo tuo, etiam per supplicia, ¹ et quidem externi moris, obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui, incognitâ causâ, captivis suis ducentibus, trahuntur ad pœnam. Si mortem meruisse judicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta." ² Amico animo, si veri patiens fuisset, admoneretur. Sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus (nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant) mergi iu amnem, sicut vineti erant, jussit. Ne hoc quidem supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duces atque amicos ejus manipuli adeunt; petentes, ut si quos adhuc pristinâ noxâ judicaret esse contactos, juberet interfici. Offerre se corpora iræ, ³ trucidaret.

[Tandem constantiâ suâ vicerunt regem, ut ad se prodiret, et reconciliati animi certa signa ostenderet. Decem circiter millia veteranorum, quibus Craterus præfecit, stipendiis donisque auctos in patriam dimisit; literis ad Antipatrum datis, quibus honorem emeritis habere præcepit, ut in primis ordinibus et coronati ludos spectarent, et liberi demortuorum in stipendia paterna succederent. Iisdem literis Antipatrum cum tironibus ad se vocavit, Cratero in locum ejus suffecto. Verebatur enim, ne discordia præfecti et Olympiadis reipublicæ damnum inferret; quippe mutuò ad regem criminati fuerant.

Persis quòque in supplementum lectis, quorum viginti millia Peucestas adduxerat, Susis rex Ecbatana profectus, Hephæstionem principem amicorum amittit, ejus casum immoderatè ferens, sumtuosissimas fieri exequias jussit, nec non, ut Deo, sacrificari. Hinc per Cossæorum gentem, liberam antea, et Persarum imperium aspernantem, Babylona proficiscitur, ubi multarum gentium legati ipsum expeetabant. Cùm ccc ab urbe stadiis abesset, monuerunt vates, ne intraret, quia periculum portenderetur; sed, ab Anaxarcho persuasus, contempsit præsagia ut vana et ineerta. Auditis ergo legatis, et peractis quæ ad Hephæstionis funus, per Pallacopam fossam ad Arabum confinia navigavit, irridens Chaldæos, qui periculum in urbe prædixerant, quam non modo feliciter ingressus esset, sed salvus etiam excessisset. Reversus Babylonem, ludis convivisque interfuit, et cùm ad Medium comessatum isset, in morbum incidit, qui intra paucos dies ita invaluit, ut spes salutis nulla aut exigua superesset. Milites solieitudine anxii retineri non potuerunt, quin ultimò visuri regem in aulam irrumperent.]

V. 12. Intuentibus lacrymæ obortæ præbuère speciem jam non Regem, sed funus ejus, visentis exercitûs. Mœror tamen circumstantium lectum ¹ eminebat. Quos ut Rex aspexit, "Invenietis," inquit, "cùm excessero, dignum talibus viris Regem?" Incredibile dictu, audituque, ² in eodem habitu corporis, in quem se composuerat cùm admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimùm persalutatus est: dimissoque vulgo, velut omni vitæ debito liberatus, fatigata ³ membra rejecit, propiùsque adire jussis amicis (nam et vox deficere jam cœperat), detractum annulum digito Perdiccæ tradidit, adjectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri juberet. Quærentibusque, cui relinqueret regnum, respondit, ei qui esset optimus; cæterùm ⁴ providere jam se, ob id certamen magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. Rursus, Perdiccâ interrogante, quando cœlestes honores haberi sibi vellet? dixit, tum velle, cùm ipsi felices essent. Suprema hæc vox fuit Regis, et paulò pòst extinguitur. Ac primò ploratu, lamentisque, et planetibus tota regia personabat. Mox, velut in vastâ solitudine, omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deindè futurum esset, dolore converso. Nobiles pueri, custodiæ corporis ejus assueti, nec doloris magnitudinem capere, nec seipsos intra vestibulum regiae

retinere potuerunt; vagique et furentibus similes, totam urbem luctu ac mœrore compleverunt; nullis questibus omissis, quos in tali casu dolor suggerit.

13. Ergò qui extra regiam astiterant, Macedones pariter Barbarique concurrunt, nec poterant victi a victoribus in communi dolore discerni. Persæ justissimum ac mitissimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum Regem invocantes, ⁵certamen quoddam mœroris edebant. Nec mœstorum solùm, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem, et in flore ætatis fortunæque, invidiâ Deùm ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor ejus et vultus educentis in prælium milites, obsidentis urbes, ⁶evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro concione donantis, occurrebant oculis. Tum Macedones divinos honores negâsse ei pœnitebat; impiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quòd aures ejus debitâ appellatione fraudâssent. Et cùm diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio Regis hæsisset, in ipsos versa miseratio est. Macedonia profecti ultrâ Euphratem mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus, destitutos se esse cernebant: sine certo Regis hærede, publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. Bella deindè civilia, quæ secuta sunt, mentibus augurabantur. Iterum ⁷non de regno Asiæ, sed de Rege, ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum. Novis vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices. Senes debiles, modò petitâ missione a justo Rege, nunc morituros ⁸pro potentiâ forsitan satellitis alicujus ignobilis.

14. Has cogitationes volventibus, nox supervenit, terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant, Babylonii, alius e muris, alius culmine sui quisque tecti, prospectabant, quasi certiora visuri. Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere. Et quia oculorum cessabat usus, ⁹fremitus vocesque auribus captabant. Ac plerumque vano metu territi, per obscuras semitas alius alii occurrentes, invicem suspecti et solliciti ferebantur. Persæ, comis suo more detonsis, in lugubri veste cum conjugibus ac liberis, non ut victorem, et modò hostem, sed ut gentis suæ justissimum Regem, vero desiderio luge-

bant. Assueti sub Rege vivere, non alium, qui imperaret ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab eâ, deindè magnam partem Asiæ eis Euphratem tanti mali fama pervaserat. Ad Darii quòque matrem celeriter perlata est. Abseissâ ergo veste, quâ induta erat, lugubrem sumpsit: laceratisque crinibus, humi corpus abiecit. Assidebat ei ¹⁰ altera ex neptibus, nuper amissum Hephæstionem, cui nupserat, lugens; propriasque causas doloris in communi mœstitiâ ¹¹ retractabat. Sed omnium suorum mala Sysigambis una capiebat. Illa suam, illa neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam præterita revocaverat. Crederes modò amissum Darium, ¹² et pariter miseræ duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. Flebat mortuos simul vivosque. Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? Quem alium futurum Alexandrum? Iterum esse se captas; iterum excidisse regno. Qui mortuo Dario ipsas tueretur, reperisse: qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non repturas. Subibat inter hæc animum, octoginta fratres suos eodem die ab Ocho sævissimo Regum trucidatos, adjectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem. E septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, ¹³ unum superesse: ipsum Darium floruisse paulisper, ut crudeliùs posset extingui. Ad ultimum dolori succubuit, obvolutoque capite assidentes genibus suis neptem nepotemque aversata, cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. Quinto, postquam mori statuerat, die extincta est. ¹⁴ Magnum profectò Alexandri indulgentiæ in eam, justitiæque in omnes captivos documentum est mors hujus: quæ cùm sustinuisset post Darium vivere, Alexandro esse superstes erubuit.

15. Et herculè ¹⁵ justè æstimantibus Regem liquet, bonæ naturæ ejus fuisse; vitia vel fortunæ, vel ætatis. Vis incredibilis animi; laboris patientia propemodum nimia; fortitudo non inter Reges modò excellens, sed inter illos quòque, quorum hæc sola virtus fuit; liberalitas sæpè majora tribuentis, quàm a Diis petuntur; elementia in devictos; tot regna aut reddita, quibus ea dempserat bello, aut dono data; mortis, ejus metus cæteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio; ¹⁶ gloriæ

laudisque ut justo major cupido, ita ut juveni et in tantis admittenda rebus; jam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat; jam in omnes ferè amicos benignitas, erga milites benevolentia; ¹⁷ consilium par magnitudini animi; et quantum vix poterat aetas ejus capere, solertia; modus immodicarum cupiditatum; ¹⁸ Veneris intra naturale desiderium usus, nec ulla, nisi ex permissio voluptas; ¹⁹ ingentes profectò dotes erant. ²⁰ Illa fortunæ: Diis æquare se, et cœlestes honores accersere, et talia suadentibus oraculis credere; et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementiùs, quàm par esset, irasci: in externum habitum mutare corporis cultum: imitari devictarum gentium mores, quos ante victoriam spreverat. Nam iracundiam et cupidinem vini, sicuti juvenia irritaverat, ità senectus mitigare potuisset. Fatendum est tamen, cùm ²¹ plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse fortunæ, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit. Quoties illum a morte revocavit? quoties temerè in pericula vectum perpetuâ felicitate protexit? Vitæ quoque finem eundem illi, quem gloriæ, statuit. ²² Expectavère cum fata, dum Oriente perdomito, aditoque Oceano, quidquid mortalitas capiebat, impleret. Huic Regi Ducique successor quærebatur. Sed major ²³ moles erat, quàm ut unus subire eam posset. Itaque nomen quòque ejus, et fama rerum, in totum propemodum orbem Reges ac regna diffudit: clarissimique sunt habiti, ²⁴ qui etiam minimæ parti tantæ fortunæ adhæserunt.

VI. 16. Cæterùm Babylone (indè enim divertit oratio) corporis ejus custodes, in regiam principes amicorum, ducesque copiarum advocavère: secuta est militum turba, cupientium scire, in quem Alexandri fortuna esset transitura. Multi duces, frequentia militum exclusi, regiam intrare non poterant; cùm præco, ¹ exceptis qui nominatim citarentur, adire prohiberet. Sed ² precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primum ejulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est. Deindè futuri expectatio inhibitis lacrymis silentium fecit. Tunc Perdiccas, regiâ sellâ in conspectum vulgi datâ, in quâ diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, annulum, sibi pridè traditum a

Rege, in eâdem sede posuit: quorum aspectu rursus obortæ omnibus lacrymæ integravêre luctum. Et Perdiccas, "Ego quidem," inquit, "annulum, quo ille regni atque imperii ³ vires obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi, reddo vobis. Cæterùm quanquam nulla clades huic, quâ affecti sumus, pâr ab iratis Diis excogitari potest; tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit, intuentibus credere licet, ⁴ tantum virum Deos accommodâsse rebus humanis, quarum sorte completâ, citò repperent cum suæ stirpi. Proindè quoniam nihil aliud ex eo superest, quàm quod semper ab immortalitate subducitur, cõrpori nominique quamprimùm justa solvamus, haud oblitì in quâ urbe, inter quos simus, quali Rege ac Præsìde spoliati. Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumque, ⁵ ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est. Hocine uno, an pluribus, in vestrà potestate est. ⁶ Illud seire debetis, militarem sine duce turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane prægnaus est. Optamus, ut marem enitatur: ejus regnum Diis approbantibus futurum, quando adoleverit. Interim a quibus regi velitis, destinate." Hæc Perdiccas.

17. Tum Nearchus, Alexandri modò sanguinem ac stirpem regiæ majestati convenire, neminem ait posse mirari: ⁷ cæterùm expectari nondum ortum Regem, et qui jam sit, præteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire, nec tempori rerum: esse e Barsine filium Regis, huic diadema dandum. Nulli placebat oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes, obstrepere perseverabant. Jamque propè ad seditionem pervenerant, Nearchus pervicaciùs tuente sententiam. Tum Ptolemæus, "⁸ Digna prorsus est soboles," inquit, "quæ Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsines filius! ejus nomen quòque Europam dicere pigebit, majore ex parte ⁹ captivi. Cur Persas vicèrimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus? quod justì illi Reges Darius et Xerxes tot millium agminibus tantisque classibus nequiequam petiverunt. Mea sententia hæc est, ut sede Alexandri in regiâ positâ, qui consiliis ejus adhibebantur, coëant, quoties in commune consulto opus fuerit.

"eòque, quod major pars eorum decreverit, stetur: duces, præfectique copiarum his pareant." Ptolemæo quidam, potiores Perdiceæ assentiebantur. Tum Aristonus ortus est dicere, Alexandrum consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi: judicatum autem ab ipso optimum, Perdiceam, cui annulum tradidisset. Neque enim unum cum assedissem morienti, sed circumferentem oculos, ex turbâ amicorum delegisse cui traderet. Placere igitur, summam imperii ad Perdiceam deferri. Nec dubitavêre, quin vera censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiceam, et Regis annulum tollere jubebant. Hærebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque, et quò modestiùs quod expectabat, appeteret, pervicaciùs oblaturus esse credebat. Itaque cunctatus, diuque quid ageret incertus, ad ultimum tamen recessit, et post eos, qui sederant proximi, constitit. At Meleager unus e ducebus, confirmato animo, quem Perdiceæ cunctatio crexerat, "Nec Dii siverint," inquit, "ut Alexandri fortuna, tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat. Homines certè non ferent. "Nihil dico de nobilioribus quàm hic est, sed de viris tantùm, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. Nec verò interest, Roxanes filium, quandocumque genitus erit, an Perdiceam Regem habeatis, cùm iste sub tutelæ specie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei Rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est. Et in tantâ omnium festinatione, non justâ modò sed etiam necessariâ, "exactos menses solus expectat, et jam divinat marem esse conceptum; "quem vos dubitatis paratum esse vel subdere? Si mediùs fidiùs Alexander hunc nobis Regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex his quæ imperâsset, non faciendum esse censerem. Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim opum regiarum utique "populus est hæres." Hæc elocutus, per medios armatos erupit. Et qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad pronunciatam prædam sequebantur.

. VII. 18. Jamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat, in seditionem ac discordiam versâ concione: cùm quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infimâ plebe, "Quid

opus est," inquit, "armis civilique bello, habentibus Regem quem quæritis? Aridæus Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulò antè Regis frater, sacrorum cæremoniarumque consors modò, nunc solus hæres, præteritur a vobis. Quo merito suo? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi jure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quæritis, nunquam reperietis: si proximum, hic solus est." His auditis, concio primò silentium velut jussa habuit. Conclamant deindè pariter, Aridæum vocandum esse, mortemque meritos qui concionem sine eo habuissent. Tum Pithon, plenus lacrymarum, orditur dicere: nunc vel ¹maximè miserabilem esse Alexandrum, qui tam honorum civium militumque fructu et præsentia fraudatus esset: nomen enim memoriamque Regis sui tantum intuentes, ²ad cætera caligare eos. Haud ambigè in juvenem, cui regnum destinabatur, impensa probra magis ipsi odium, quàm Aridæo contemptum attulerunt. Quippè dum miserentur, etiam favere cœperunt. Igitur non alium se, quàm eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, regnare passuros, pertinaci acclamatione declarant, vocarique Aridæum jubent. Quem Meleager infestus, invisusque Perdicæ, strenuè perducit in Regiam, ³et milites Philippum consalutatum Regem appellant.

19. Cæterum hæc vulgi erat vox; principum alia sententia. E quibus Pithon consilium Perdicæ exsequi cœpit, tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro, Perdicæam et Leonatum stirpe regiâ genitos. Adjecit, ut in Europâ Craterus et Antipater res administrarent. Tum jusjurandum a singulis exactum, futuros in potestate Regis geniti Alexandro. Meleager, haud injuriâ metu supplicii territus, cum suis secesserat. Rursus Philippum trahens secum, irrupit in regiam, clamitans, suffragari spei publicæ, de novo Rege paulò antè conceptæ, robur ætatis: experirentur modò stirpem Philippi, et filium ac fratrem Regum duorum: sibimetipsis potissimum crederent. Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, ⁴utique si novâ et brevi duraturâ libertate luxuriat. Pauci Perdicæ modò electo, plures Philippo quàm speraverat, imperium

dabant. Nec velle, nec nolle quidquam diu poterant; pœnitebatque modò consilii, modò pœnitentiæ ipsius: ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam ⁶ inclinavêre studiis. Cesserat ex concione Aridæus principum auctoritate conterritus: et abeunte illo, conticuerat magis quàm languerat militaris favor. Itaque revocatus, vestem fratris, eam ipsam, quæ in sellâ posita fuerat, induitur. Et Meleager, thorace sumpto, capit arma, novi Regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clypeos quatiens, expleturam se sanguine illorum, ⁶ qui affectaverant nihil ad ipsos pertinens regnum: in eâdem domo familiâque imperii vires remansuras esse gaudebant: hæreditarium imperium stirpem regiam vindicaturam: assuetos se nomen ipsum colere venerarique; nec quemquam id capere, ⁷ nisi genitum ut regnaret.

20. Igitur Perdiccas territus conclave, in quo Alexandri corpus jacebat, obserari jubet. Sexcenti cum ipso erant spectatæ virtutis. Ptolemæus quòque se adjunxerat ei, puerorumque regia cohors. Cæterùm haud difficulter a tot millibus armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et Rex quòque irruperat, stipatus satellitum turbâ, quorum princeps erat Meleager. Iratusque Perdiccas hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat: sed qui irruperant, eminùs tela in ipsum jaciebant: multisque vulneratis, tandem seniores, demptis galeis quò faciliùs nosci possent, precari, qui eum Perdiccâ erant, cœpêre, ut abstinerent bello, Regique ⁶ et pluribus cederent. Primus Perdiccas arma deposuit, cæterique idem fecêre. Meleagro deindè suadente ne a corpore Alexandri ⁶ discederent, insidiis locum quæri rati, diversâ regiæ parte ad Euphratem fugam intendunt. Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis juvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leonatum frequens sequebatur, placebatque excedere urbe et ¹⁰ tendere in campis. Sed Perdiccas ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat. Itaque, ne abduciendo equites abruptisse a cætero exercitu videretur, in urbe substitit.

VIII. 21. At Meleager Regem mouere non destitit, jussu imperii Perdiccæ morte sanciendum esse; nî occupetur impo-

tens animus, res novaturum: meminisse ¹ eum, quid de Rege meruisset: ² neminem autem ei satis fidum esse, quem metuat. Rex patiebatur magis, quàm assentiebatur. Itaque Meleager silentium pro imperio habuit; misitque Regis nomine qui Perdiccam accerserent. Iisdem mandatum ut occiderent, si venire dubitaret. Perdiccas, nunciato satellitum adventu sexdecim ³ omninò pueris regiæ cohortis comitatus in limine domûs suæ constitit, ⁴ castigatosque, et Meleagri mancipia identidem appellans, sic animi vultusque constantiâ terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerent. Perdiccas pueros jussit equos conscendere; et cum paucis amicorum ad Leonatum pervenit, jam firmiore præsidio vim propulsaturus, si quis inferret. Postero die indigna res Macedonibus videbatur, Perdiccam ad mortis periculum adductum; et Meleagri temeritatem armis ultum ire decreverant. Atque illi eùm Regem adissent, interrogare eum cœpère, an Perdiccam comprehendi ipse jussisset. Ille, Meleagri instinctu se jussisse, respondit. Cæterùm non debere tumultuari eos: Perdiccam enim vivere. Igitur concione dimissâ, Meleager equitum maximè defectione perterritus, inopsque concilii (quippe in ipsum periculum reciderat, quod inimico paulò antè intenderat), triduum ferè consumpsit, incerta consilia volvendo. Et pristina quidem regiæ species manebat. Nam et legati gentium Regem adibant, et copiarum duces aderant, et vestibulum satellites armatique compleverant. Sed ⁵ ingens suâ sponte mœstitia ultimæ desperationis index erat; suspectique invicem, non adire propius, non colloqui audebant: secretas cogitationes intra se quisque volventes; et ex comparatione Regis novi desiderium excitabatur amissi. Ubi ille esset, ejus imperium, ejus auspiciū secuti erant, requirebant. Destitutos se inter infestas indomitasque gentes, ⁶ expetituras tot eladium suarum pœuas, quandocumque oblata esset occasio. His cogitationibus animos exedebant, eùm annunciat, equites qui sub Perdiccâ essent, occupatis circa Babylonem campis, frumentum, quod in urbem invehebatur, retinuisse. Itaque inopia primum, deindè fames esse cœpit. Et qui in urbe erant, aut recon

ciliandam gratiam cum Perdiceâ, aut armis certandum esse censebant.

22. Fortè ita acciderat, ut qui in agris erant, populationem villarum vicorumque veriti, confugerent in urbem; oppidani, cùm ipsos alimenta deficerent, urbe excederent; et utrique generi tutior aliena sedes, quàm sua, videretur. Quorum consternationem Macedones veriti, in regiam coeunt, quæque ipsorum sententia esset, exponunt. Placebat autem legatos ad equites mitti, de finiendâ discordiâ, armisque ponendis. Igitur a Rege legatur Pasas Thessalus, et Amissas Megalopolitanus, et Perilaüs. Qui cùm mandata Regis edidissent; non aliter posituros arma equites, quàm si Rex discordiæ auctores dedisset, tulere responsum. His renunciatis, suâ sponte milites arma capiunt. Quorum tumultu e regiâ Philippus excitus, "Nihil," inquit, "seditione est opus: nam inter se certantium præmia, qui quieverint, occupabunt. Simul mementote rem esse cum civibus, quibus spem gratiæ citò abrumpere, ad bellum civile properantium est. Alterâ legatione, an mitigari possint, experiamur: et credo, nondum Regis corpore sepulto, ad præstanda ei justa omnes esse coituros. Quod ad me attinet, reddere hoc imperium malo, quàm exercere civium sanguine. Et si nulla alia concordiæ spes est, oro quæsoque, eligite potiolem." Obortis deindè lacrymis, diadema detrahit capiti, dextram, quâ id tenebat, protendens, ut, si quis se digniorem profiteretur, acciperet. Ingentem spem indolis, ante eum diem fratris claritate suppressam, ea moderata excitavit oratio. Itaque cuncti instare coeperunt, ut quæ agitasset, exsequi vellet. Eisdem rursus legat, petituros, ut Meleagrum tertium ducem acciperent. Haud ægrè id impetratum est. Nam et abducere Meleagrum Perdiceas a Rege cupiebat, et unum duobus^o imparem futurum esse censebat. Igitur Meleagro cum phalange obviam egresso, Perdiceas equitum turmas antecedens occurrit. Utrumque agmen mutuâ salutatione factâ coit, in perpetuum (ut arbitrabantur) concordiâ et pace firmatâ.

IX. 23. Sed jam fatis admovebantur Macedonum genti

bella civilia. ¹ Nam et insociabile est regnum, et a pluribus expetebatur. Primùm ergo collegère vires, deindè dispererunt; et, cùm pluribus corpus, quàm capiebat, onerâssent, cætera membra deficere cœperunt: quodque imperium sub uno stare potuisset, dum a pluribus sustinetur, ruit. ² Pròindè jure meritoque populus Romanus salutem se ³ principi suo debere profitetur; cui noctis, quam penè supremam habuimus, novum sidus illuxit. ⁴ Hujus herculè, non solis, ortus, lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cùm sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum extinxit faces! quot condidit gladios! quantam tempestatem subitâ serenitate discussit! Non ergò revirescit solùm, sed etiam floret Imperium. ⁵ Absit modò invidia, excipiet hujus sæculi tempora, ejusdem domûs, utinam perpetua, certè diuturna posteritas. Cæterùm, ut ad ordinem, a quo me contemplatio publicæ felicitatis averterat, redeam; Perdiccas unicam spem salutis suæ in Meleagri morte deponebat: vanum eundem et infidum, celeriterque res novaturum, et sibi maximè infestum, occupandum esse. Sed altâ dissimulatione consilium premebat, ut opprimeret incautum. Ergò clam quosdam ex copiis quibus præerat, subornavit, ut quasi ignoraret ipse, conquererentur palàm, Meleagrum ⁶ æquatum esse Perdiccæ. Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato, furens irâ, Perdiccæ, quæ comperisset, exponit. Ille, velut novâ re exterritus, admirari, queri, dolentisque speciem ostentare ei cœpit. Ad ultimum convenit, ut comprehenderentur tam seditiosæ vocis auctores. Agit Melcager gratias, amplexusque Perdiccam, fidem ejus ipse ac benevolentiam collaudat. Tum communi consilio rationem opprimendi noxios incunt. Placet exercitum patrio more lustrari: et ⁷ probabilis causa videbatur præterita discordia.

24. Macedonum Reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissæ canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utrâque abjicerentur parte: intra id spatium armati omnes starent; hinc equites, illinc phalanx. Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, Rex cum equitibus

elephantisque constiterat ⁸ contra pedites, quæis Meleager præerat. Jam equestre agmen movebatur, et pedites subitâ formidine ob recentem discordiam, ⁹ haud sanè pacati quidquam expectantes, parumper addubitavère, an in urbem subducerent copias : quippe ¹⁰ pro equitibus planities erat. Cæterùm veriti, ne temerè commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitère, præparatis ad dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Jam agmina coibant, parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret. Itaque Rex cum unâ alâ obequitare peditibus cœpit, discordiæ auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccæ ad supplicia deposecens : minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis inducturum se in recusantes. Stupebant improvise malo pedites : nec plus in ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. ¹¹ Tutissimum ex præsentibus videbatur, expectare potiùs quàm movere fortunam. Tum Perdiccas, ut torpentes et ¹² obnoxios vidit, trecentos ferè, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex concione, quæ prima habita est post mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a cæteris discretos, elephantis in conspectu totius exercitûs objicit ; omnesque belluarum pedibus obtriti sunt, nec prohibente Philippo, nec auctore ; ¹³ apparebatque, id modò pro suo vindicaturum, quod approbâset eventus. Hoc bellorum civilium Macedonibus et omen, et principium fuit. Meleager, serò intellectâ fraude Perdiccæ, tum quidem quia ipsius corpori vis non afferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit : at mox, damnatâ spe salutis, ¹⁴ cùm ejus nomine quem ipse fecerat Regem, in perniciem suam abutentes videret inimicos, confugit in templum. Ac, ne loci quidem religione defensus, occiditur.

X. 25. Perdiccas, perducto in urbem exercitu, consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividi placuit, ut Rex quidem summam ejus obtineret, Satrapes Ptolemæus Ægypti et Africæ ¹ gentium, quæ in ditione erant. Laomedonti Syria cum Phœnice data est ; Philotæ Cilicia destinata : Lyciam cum Pamphyliâ et majore Phrygiâ ² obtinere jussus Antigonus. In Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi. Phrygiam minorem, Hellesponto adjunctam

Leonati provinciam esse jusserunt. Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagoniâ cessit. Præceptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet, bellum cum Ariarathe gereret. Solus hic detrectabat imperium. Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam appositasque Thraciæ Ponticas gentes obtinere jussi. ³ Qui Indiæ, quique Bactris et Sogdianis, cæterisque, aut Oceani, aut rubri maris accolis præerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset, imperii etiam jus obtineret. Decretum est, ut Perdiccas cum Rege esset, copiisque præesset, quæ Regem sequebantur. Credidère quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam ejus rei (quantum ab auctoribus tradita est) ⁴ vanam fuisse comperimus. Et quidem suas quisque opes, divisis imperii partibus, tuebantur, quas ipsi fundaverant, si unquam adversus immodicas cupiditates terminus staret. Quippe paulò antè Regis ministri, ⁵ specie imperii alieni procurandi, singuli ingentia invascrant regna, sublatis certaminum causis, cùm et omnes ejusdem gentis essent, et a cæteris, sui quisque imperii regione, discreti. Sed difficile erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio: quippe sordent prima quæque, cùm majora sperantur. Itaque omnibus ⁶ expeditius videbatur augere regna, quàm fuisset accipere.

26. Septimus dies erat, ex quo corpus Regis jacebat in solio; curis omnium ad formandum publicum statum a tam solemnī munere aversis. Et non aliis quàm Mesopotamiæ regione fervidior æstus existit: adeò ut pleraque animalia, quæ in ⁷ nudo solo deprehendit, extinguat; tantus est vapor solis et cœli, quo cuncta velut igne torrentur. Fontes aquarum et rari sunt et incolentium fraude celantur. Ipsis usus patet, ignotus est advenis. ⁸ Ut tandem curare corpus exanimū amicis vacavit, nullā tabe, ne minimo quidem livore corruptum vidère qui intraverant. ⁹ Vigor quòque, qui constat ex spiritu, non destituerat vultum. Itaque Ægyptii Chaldaïque jussi corpus suo more curare, primò non sunt ausi admovere, velut spiranti, manus: deindè precati ut jus fasque esset mortalibus attrectare eum, purgavère corpus

repletumque est odoribus aureum solium, et capiti adjecta fortunæ ejus insignia. Veneno necatum esse credidère plerique; filium Antipatri inter ministros, Iollam nomine, patris jussu dedisse. Sæpè certè audita erat vox Alexandri, Antipatrum regium affectare fastigium,¹⁰ majoremque esse præfecti opibus; ac titulo Spartanæ victoriæ inflatum, omnia a se data asserentem sibi. Credebant etiam, Craterum cum veterum militum manu ad interficiendum eum missum. Vim autem veneni, quod in Macedoniâ gignitur, talem esse constat,¹¹ ut ferrum quòque exurat. Ungulam jumentum duntaxat patientem esse succi. Stygem appellant fontem, ex quo pestiferum virus emanat. Hoc per Cassandrum allatum traditumque fratri Iollæ, et ab eo supremæ Regis potioni inditum.¹² Hæc, utcumque sunt tradita, eorum, quos rumor asperserat, mox potentia extinxit. Regnum enim Macedoniæ Antipater, et Græciam quoque invasit. Soboles deindè excepit, interfectis omnibus, quicumque Alexandrum etiam longinquâ cognitione contigerant. Cæterum corpus ejus Ptolemæo, cui Ægyptus cesserat, Memphim, et indè paucis pòst annis Alexandriam translatum est, omnisque memoriæ ac nomini honos habetur.

NOTES.

LIBER III. CAP. I.

Note

1. *Et suas, &c.*—That is: Unpolluted by the mixture of any other streams.
2. *Nymphas.*—Certain inferior deities of the female sex, who presided over groves, fountains, rivers, mountains, &c., under various names as, *Dryades, Naiades, Orcades, &c.* To them thus Cowper beautifully alludes (Task, vi.):

“HIM blind antiquity profaned, not served,
With self-taught rites and under various names,
Female and male, Pomona, Pales, Pan,
And Flora, and Vertumnus; peopling earth
With tutelary goddesses and gods
That were not; and commending, as they would,
To each some province, garden, field, or grove.”

3. *Caduceatorem*, so called from the *Caduceus* or symbol of peace, which he bore when offering terms of peace to an enemy. The herald, who declared war, was called by the Romans, *Fœcialis*.
4. *Ni dederent, &c.*—How much in the spirit of the highwayman’s threat, “Your purse or your life.” While pondering over the career of such men as Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon, we are often reminded of the sentiment of the poet

“One murder makes a villain, millions a hero.”

5. *Ad ultimum, &c.*—“That if matters came to extremities they,” &c.
6. *Inducias pacti, &c.*—Understand *profitentes*, or some similar word, after *pacti*, unless indeed *pacti* itself has a reciprocal meaning, referring both to the thing obtained and to the consideration given therefor.

Note

7. *Superveniunt inde legati*.—According to Arrian, these ambassadors met the king at Gordium.
8. *Pari intervallo*.—Our author's geographical statements are not always to be depended on. His ideas with respect to the position of the Sangarius, and the width of Asia Minor, as expressed in this and the following sentence, are very erroneous, as may be seen by consulting a good map.
9. *Utroque, sc. mari*.
10. *Committeret*.—We give the reading here as we find it; yet cannot avoid thinking that the word should be *committerentur*. The construction, according to the received text, sounds harsh; for *quæ*, referring to *terram*, is then the subject of *committeret*, and the literal meaning of the passage would imply, that a piece of land can unite two seas. By making *maria* the subject of *committerentur* the difficulty is avoided.
11. *Notabile*.—We understand here *negotium*, and translate: "The remarkable thing about it (the chariot) was the yoke, which was fastened," &c.
12. *Quippe, &c.*—The readings here vary very much; but the one in the text, when read in the following order, seems to give the sense of the author: *Quippe [rex] aggressus solvere seriem vinculorum ita adstrictam, ut posset percipi nec ratione nec visu unde nexus inciperet, quòve conderet se, injecerat curam [Macedonibus], ne irritum ineptum verteretur in omen*.
13. *Nequaquam*.—We agree with Freinsheim in preferring this word to *nequiequam*, as more characteristic of Alexander, who was not the one to tarry long at untying a knot, while his good sword was at his side.
14. *Tuta, sc. loca*.
15. *Liberaturos*, agreeing with *Amphoterum* and *Hegelochum*, and governing *Lesbum*, &c., with *præsidiis*, as a verb of "depriving," according to the grammars, though, in reality, *præsidiis* is governed by a preposition.
16. *Talenta*.—The talent of silver was about \$1,056 of our money; the talent of gold, about \$10,555. Our author, when using the word without qualification, is supposed to refer to the talent of silver. See Tables at the end of Anthon's Classical Dictionary.
17. *Prasiderent*.—"Might act as a *præsidium* or defence."
18. *In expedito*.—An idiomatic phrase, referring originally to the "disentanglement of the feet"; hence "freedom from obstacles," "readiness."

LIB. III. CAP. II.

Note

1. *Statuit ipse decernere*.—"Resolved to decide the contest in person."
2. *Circumdato, &c.*—What a gloomy picture of the *butchery* of war does this passage present, where men are represented as *penned up*, as sheep for the slaughter.
3. *Quàm pro numero*.—"Than in proportion to their actual number."
4. *Eques*.—A use of the singular for the plural, common in describing different kinds of troops. We find, in like manner, *miles* used to denote the whole body of the soldiery.
5. *Cetra*.—A small leathern buckler, used by some tribes in Spain, and supposed by the best authors to be of a rhomboidal shape.
6. *Egregii, ut inter illas gentes*.—"Distinguished warriors when measured by the standard of the nations around them."
7. *Millia Græcorum, &c.*—The Greeks, like the Swiss of modern days, too often disgraced themselves by their mercenary disposition, which frequently led many of them to enlist in ranks opposed to their own countrymen. Williams (*Life of Alexander*, page 73, Harper's edition) well remarks: "It is difficult to sympathize with men, who for daily pay could be thus brought to array themselves against their fellow-countrymen, and to fight the battles of the barbarians against the captain-general of Greece."
8. *Rubri maris*.—The name, *Mare Rubrum* or *Erythræum*, properly belongs to the inland sheet of water now known as the "Red Sea" or "Arabian Gulf." The ancients, however, applied the term to the whole extent of ocean washing the southern coasts of Asia. As to the origin of the appellation, learned men are now agreed that it was derived from a certain king Erythras or Erythrus (see Lib. viii. cap. ix. § 29), whom they suppose to have been no other than Esau the son of Isaac. From his selling his birthright for a mess of *red* pottage, he received the name of *Edom*, "Red"; and as his descendants were called *Edomites*, and settled on the borders of this sea, it was naturally called the Sea of Edom or the "Red Sea,"—the Greeks translating *Edom* by "*Erythræum*," the Latins by "*Rubrum*." The opinion was formerly held by many ancient and modern writers that it derived its name from the colour of its waters, though they differed widely as to the cause of the "redness." The wash of the adjacent soil,—the reflection of the sun's rays from the neighbouring mountains,—the colour of the sand and plants at the bottom of this shallow sea,—have each been advocated as the source of the

Note

"redness." Time, however, has exploded all these theories and established the one first mentioned.

9. *Ipsi*, sc. *Dario*.
10. *Purpuratis*.—"Courtiers," *i. e.* Those clothed in garments of that hue which for ages has been appropriated to sovereigns and their favourites.
11. *Satisne ei*, &c.—"Whether he seemed well enough provided to annihilate the enemy?" *Obterendum* is a very strong word. It signifies, "to grind to pieces," "to crush," "to waste away by continual rubbing."
12. *Verum, inquit*, &c. *Verum*: "The truth." The aversion of tyrants to listen to the truth is well satirized in the following lines of Juvenal, referring to Domitian: .

—*Quid violentius aure tyranni,
Cum quo de pluviiis, aut æstibus aut nimboso
Vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?*

SAT. IV. 55.

13. *Quantum*, &c.—"To such a degree, that those, who have not been eye-witnesses of it, can form no idea of it in their minds."
14. *Torva—inculca*.—"Terrible" in their aspect,—"*uncouth*" in their habiliments.
15. *Cuneos*.—The wedge-like form of drawing up soldiers for an attack has often been successfully employed, both in ancient and modern times.
16. *Conserta robora*.—This expression savours more of Curtius, the rhetorician, than of Charidemus, the rough warrior. And here it is well to put the student in mind that the speeches, so often occurring in this work, are wholly imaginative on the part of the author, or at most, have but a slight foundation in fact. Other historians, both ancient and modern, have put speeches into the mouths of those introduced by them to the scene of action. Raderus justly says, "that in the eloquent character of his speeches, no one is equal to Curtius, certainly no one is superior."
17. *Phalangem*.—This mode of arranging infantry in close files, marching in *lock step*, and uniting their shields together, so as to oppose an almost impenetrable mass to the onset of the enemy, was peculiar to the Macedonians. The phalanx generally bore the brunt of the action.
18. *Ad nutum monentis*.—This indicates a very high state of military discipline, equalled only by the manœuvres of modern soldiers, conducted by the tap of the drum.

Note

19. *Obsistere, &c.*—Critics differ widely as to the meaning of the military phrases here used, as well as to the true punctuation of the passage. *Obsistere*, according to Raderus, signifies “to press upon the enemy in one united mass,” while Freinsheim considers it equivalent to *consistere* “to halt.” *Circumire* literally, “To go around,” that is, “To out-flank” the enemy. *Discurrere in cornu*: “To strengthen the wings by reinforcements from the centre.” *Mutare pugnam*: “to change the ground,” that is: “to move in a body to a place more favourable for fighting.”
20. *Callent.*—This word literally signifies “to grow hard,” or “callous;” hence “to produce hardness” by continual use, like that of the palms of the hands; and, finally, “to acquire skill” by use and practice, “to know thoroughly.”
21. *Adhuc illa, &c.*—“Hitherto that high state of discipline has depended upon the schooling of poverty.”
22. *Quem occupant.*—“Which they find at hand;” more literally “which they first lay hold of.”
23. *Tempora, &c.*—“The duration of sleep is more contracted than that of night.” That is: They are very early risers.
24. *Thessali equites.*—Thessaly was celebrated during many ages, for the excellence of its cavalry.
25. *Fundis.*—The sling appears to have been a weapon of offence from the earliest ages.
26. *Hastis igne duratis.*—A weapon resorted to by savage and barbarous nations, where the working of metals is unknown or but little attended to.
27. *Istud.*—Charidemus must be supposed to point with scorn to the gold so foolishly lavished on the arms and accoutrements of the Persian soldiers.
28. *Expetet, &c.*—“The very individual, against whom I have given you advice will inflict upon you the penalty incurred by despising my counsel.” *Expetere panas* “to demand” or “require,”—hence, “to inflict punishment.”
29. *Licentiâ regni tam subitò mutotus.*—Charidemus here refers to that change of disposition so apt to be produced by the attainment of absolute power. Two striking instances will occur to the thoughtful student, the one from sacred, the other from profane history. Hazael and Nero became monsters of cruelty when advanced to an absolute throne. Compare Suetonius, (*Nero*), and O. T. (II. Kings, viii. 12, &c.)

LIB. III. CAP. III.

Note

1. *Peregrinos milites*.—Chiefly the Greek mercenaries.
2. *Species imminantium rerum*.—"Visions of impending events."
3. *Accersit*.—"Called them up."
4. *Alexander*, sc. *visus est*.
5. *Quo ipse fuisset*.—That is: That Alexander appeared in the same dress which Darius wore, before he was made king, and which is called below *vulgaris*, that is: the common dress of the Persians.
6. *Curam distrinxerant*.—Literally, "Had drawn his anxiety into different directions;" that is: "Had distracted his mind with conflicting cares."
7. *Quippe illustria, &c.*—The order is: *Quippe castra Macedonum visa illustria portendere fulgorem Alexandro, quem, [sc, i. e. vatem] haud ambigere, occupaturum esse regnum, &c.*
8. *Ut fit*.—"As is usual."
9. *Vatum responso*.—Of course this refers to those who interpreted the dream as "*latum regi*."
10. *Die jam illustri*.—"When the day began to dawn."
11. *Imago solis*.—The Persians worshipped the sun as the source and emblem of fire. The worship of the heavenly bodies, as it is the most ancient, so it is the most plausible of all kinds of idolatry. Its antiquity is attested by the fact that it is the only false worship mentioned in the book of Job (xxx. 26, &c.), and its plausibility is evident when we consider that it was natural for uneducated and barbarous tribes to view the sources of light and heat (appearing too, as they do, with the most attractive splendour) as beneficent deities.
12. *Magi*.—They were the chief priests of the nation, and the principal depositaries of learning. A delegation from their body (three in number, according to tradition) visited the infant Saviour.
13. *Diebus totius anni parces numero*.—The accuracy with which they assigned the proper number to the days of the year was to be expected from those who were probably the first to cultivate the science of astronomy.
14. *Regentes equos = rectores equorum*.
15. *Immortales*.—So called, according to most authors, because, if one fell in battle, his place was immediately supplied, so that there were never more nor less than ten thousand. They were composed of the bravest and most noble of the Persians.

Note

16. *Manicatas tunicas*.—Tunics with long sleeves, which, by the ancient Romans, were considered very effeminate. Those who came into the presence of the Persian monarch, were required to cover their hands with long sleeves, as a precaution against assassination.
17. *Doryphori*.—An appellation derived from the long spear borne by them;—from their sometimes having a golden apple placed on the point of their spear, they were also called *Melophori*.
18. *Simulacra cubitalia*.—As these images were at least eighteen inches high, it has been supposed that they were hollow and of a light construction, to avoid overburdening the necks of the horses.
19. *Pinnas*.—Whence *pinions*, the wing feathers, as distinguished from *pennas*, the feathers of the body. The distinction, however, does not always hold good.
20. *Purpuræ*, &c.—That is: the general colour of the garment was purple, but the middle was relieved by a stripe of white.
21. *Ex gemmâ*.—That is: “of several gems.” In like manner we say “of pearl,” meaning “of several pearls.”
22. *Cydarim*.—This head-dress was not peculiar to the king, except in the form of the *apex*, which, in his, rose to a conical point; in that of others, inclined towards the front.
23. *Armanaxas*.—“Litters,” or “covered chariots.”
24. *Lixarum et calonum*.—“Sutlers and baggage slaves.”
25. *Nec turbâ*.—The best interpreters apply this to the soldiers alone, and not to the camp followers: and this view of it seems to be justified by what is said below. *Ergo Alexandro*, &c.—Our author is evidently contrasting the compact, well-armed, well-disciplined, though small body of the Macedonians, with the glittering, but confused and ill-disciplined multitude that followed the standard of Darius.

LIB. III. CAP. IV.

1. *Castra Cyri*.—See Note 4, Lib. iv. Cap. vii.
2. *Stativa*, se. *Castra*. In the same way *Hiberna*, *Æstiva*, &c., are used absolutely.
3. *Munimenta*, governed by *imitante*. May not Curtius have written *imitantes*, referring to *fauces*? and then *naturali situ* would be the ablative of manner.
4. *Quondam* is to be referred to *salubre*; *scro*, to *statuit*.
5. *Fuit* in the sense of *fuisset*.
6. *Obtinere potuissent*.—“Might have retained possession.”

Note

7. *Perpetuo jugo montis asperi ac prærupti*.—"By an unbroken ridge of rough and craggy mountains."
8. *Quod cùm, &c.*—"Which, taking its rise upon the sea coast and forming, as it were, a semicircular hollow by a gradual curve, again, at its other extremity, runs out upon a different part of the coast."
9. *Campestris, &c.*—"The same (*i. e. Cilicia*) is level where it inclines towards the sea, numerous streams marking its surface."
10. *Non spatio, &c.*—"Not by the volume of its waters but by their clearness."
11. *Qui—turbent*.—"To disturb" or rather "to render turbid."
12. *Multâ riparum, &c.*—"Overshadowed by the abundance of rich foliage on its banks;" literally, "by the great pleasantness of its banks."
13. *Ubique fontibus, &c.*—That is: Without changing its character during its course.
14. *Pylæ—Gates*. A common appellation among the Greeks for narrow passes.
15. *Non aliàs*.—"On no other occasion." See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
16. *Quaternos*.—The distributive numeral, here signifying, "four abreast."
17. *Moniti, &c.*—That is: They were warned to be as cautious with regard to their movements in passing this defile, as if they were actually to engage in battle.
18. *Agmen*.—A column of troops on a march,—*acies*, the same body in battle array. A striking instance of the difference between these words may be seen in Cæsar's *Com. de Bell. Gall.* (Lib. vii. c. vi. *init.*)
19. *Cui tum maximè, &c.*—"Just at the very time the Persians were setting fire to it."

LIB. III. CAP. V.

1. *Mediam, sc. urbem*.
2. *Levi et parabili cultu corporis*.—Raderus, followed by Zumpt, refers these words to *the dress of the king*, but we can by no means agree with them, and prefer to consider the clause as alluding to the *cheap and ready bath* to which the king resorted in common with the meanest soldier. Perhaps Curtius wrote *vili*, instead of *levi*; though the latter word approaches near enough in sense to the other to make the supposition unnecessary.

Note

3. *Ingressi*.—In the genitive.
4. *In tanto*, &c.—“In the midst of such a rapid course of good fortune.”
5. *Victorem*.—In apposition with *Darium*.
6. *Jam ut*, &c.—“Grant now that,” &c. “Suppose that already,” &c. For this peculiar meaning of *ut*, see Leverett’s Lexicon.
7. *Eundem regem*, &c.—“At once their king and fellow-soldier.”
8. *Animum autem*, &c.—“Moreover the diseased state of his body pressed upon his mind, for,” &c.
9. *In Ciliciam fore*.—A use of the accusative not without precedent in the comic poets, and even in Cicero. Motion is undoubtedly implied.
10. *Articulo*.—“Juncture.”
11. *Tam superbas*, &c.—Referring to the letter of Darius to his satraps, in which he ordered them to bring the mad son of Philip to him alive and in chains.
12. *Fortunam meam*, &c.—“Held consultation with my evil fortune.”
13. *Arbitrio meo*.—“At my own discretion.”
14. *Me non tam*, &c.—“That I seek a remedy, not so much to rescue me from death as to preserve me to finish this war.”
15. *Esset in potestate*, &c.—“That he would submit to the control of his physicians.”
16. *Quippe*, &c.—These and similar statements are to be received with many grains of allowance, as we have no other authority for them than the Greek writers, whose truthfulness and impartiality are not always to be confided in.

LIB. III. CAP. VI.

1. *Puero comes*, &c.—The order is: *Datus* [*Alexandro*] *puero comes et custos salutis diligebat* [*cum*] *eximiâ charitate, non modò ut regem, sed etiam ut alumnum.*
2. *Strenuum*.—“Speedily efficacious.”
3. *Cujus periculo*, &c.—“At whose risk the pledge was given.”
4. *Purpuratorum*.—See Note 10, Chap. ii.
5. *In utramque partem*.—“In either direction,” i. e., *to drink or not to drink.*
6. *Subjecerat*.—“Had suggested.”
7. *Ne immeritò*.—“Not undeservedly” for despising the warnings of his friends.
8. *Haurit interterritus: tum*, &c.—Plutarch and Arrian relate that the letter was first handed to Philip, and that the king took the draught,

Note

while the former was reading. Valerius Maximus accords with the statement here given. Our author (Lib. VI., cap. X.) makes Philotas refer to this same incident.

9. *Conscientiæ*.—"Of a consciousness of innocence or guilt."—The king thought himself able to judge, by the expression of his countenance, whether he was innocent or guilty.
10. *Amiculo*.—"A light cloak," perhaps of a kind peculiar to physicians.
11. *Semper quidem, &c.*—Lit., "My breath has always indeed been dependent on thee, but now truly it is drawn from that sacred and honoured mouth of thine." That is: My own life has been always connected with the safety of thine, owing to the responsible station I hold as thy physician, but now truly does the continuance of it depend upon what thou hast just drunk, for, if fatal to thee, it will prove equally fatal to me.
12. *Parricidii*.—This word, in its primary sense, denoted "the murder of a father," but it came afterwards to signify the killing, by an inferior, of a superior, whom he was under peculiar obligations to love and obey. Hence, also, it is applied figuratively to injury done to one's country. Here it may be rendered "regicide."
13. *Si Dii, &c.*—The order is: *Si Dii permisissent tibi, Philippe, experiri meum animum modo, quo maxime velles, profectò voluisses [experiri cum] alio [modo], sed ne optàsses quidem certiore[m] [modum] quàm expertus es.*
14. *Vini odore*.—See O. T. (Job xiv., 9.)
15. *Nam cùm, &c.*—"For since fortune every where attended him, his very rashness turned to glory."
16. *Ætas quoque, &c.*—That is: Even his extreme youth, which seemed hardly capable of such great undertakings,—but proved abundantly adequate,—added lustre to all his achievements.

LIB. III. CAP. VII.

1. *Junctoque co*.—That is: The opposite sides of it.
2. *Mulctæ*.—In modern phrase, "a contribution."
3. *Vota*.—"Vows," probably made by both the king and the army.
4. *Nuntius*.—This word signifies "a messenger," or "the news," of which he is the bearer. In this instance, as in the first line of this chapter, it has the latter meaning.
5. *Alteris castris*.—"After the second day's march." As the Romans encamped regularly every night when upon a march, it was natural

Note

for their writers to express time in military expeditions by the number of encampments.

6. *Deturbatis*, sc. *iis*.
7. *Idem et auctor*, &c.—“At once the performer and informer of these successes.”
8. *Persas recentes*, &c.—“That fresh reinforcements would be constantly coming up to aid the Persians, if they were able [*i. e.*, “permitted”] to take their stand in too spacious a place.”
9. *Sisines*, &c.—This, we believe, is the first instance of hasty and undue severity on the part of Alexander; followed, however, by too many others.
10. *Exilium patriâ*, &c.—According to our own idiom we should say, “He exchanged the home of his fathers for a life of exile.” The Latins, however, usually put the thing given up in the ablative, unless the preposition *cum* be used, as *mutare vestem cum vino*, “to exchange garments for wine.”

*Cur velle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores.*

(Hor. Carm. III 1, 47.) See Dr. Anthon's note.

11. *Magno id ei*, &c.—For the construction of *ei* and *honori* after *fore*, see Harkness' Latin Gram. § 290, I., and Adam's Lat. Gram. (Rule xxii.)
12. *Has literas*.—“This letter.”
13. *Lectamque*, &c.—“And when he had read it he impressed upon it the seal,” &c.

LIB. III. CAP. VIII.

1. *Spatiososque*, &c.—Experience, that excellent instructor, seems to have found but indifferent pupils in the Persians: for whatever they had learned under her instructions at Thermopylæ and Salamis, of the necessity of “ample room and verge enough” for the evolutions of mighty hosts, was wholly lost before they engaged in the narrow defiles of Issus.
2. *Ancipitem*, &c.—This passage may be rendered more intelligible to the student by supplying some words and giving the following order: [*Qui dicebant*, *i. e.*, the courtiers] *ancipitem fidem et prodicionem venalem mercede imminere [Persis] et [Græcos] velle copias dividi non ob aliud quàm ut ipsi (Græci), digressi in diversa, traderent Alexandro siquid (= quicquid) commissum esset [ipsis]*.
3. *Quam deinde*, &c.—We prefer *quam* to *quem*, the common reading.

Note

because we think that if our author had used the latter word, he would have written *ex nationibus exteris*, and not the genitive plural as we find in the text.

4. *Neminem stolidum*, &c.—“That no one should expiate his unwise counsel by the loss of his head.” What a pity that Darius had not entertained such sentiments before he put Charidemus to death. Loecenius quotes here the following appropriate advice from Mæcenas to Augustus. “You will cheerfully allow all to give their advice free from responsibility for the results. For, on the one hand, if the counsel of any one shall meet your approval, much advantage will thence accrue to you, while on the other hand, if it shall not please you, no harm will result from it. Should you reject the counsels of any, by no means disgrace or even find fault with them, but rather look to the good-will displayed by them in giving the advice, and not to the character of its results.”
5. *Nec tamen*, &c.—“And yet those who gave the more prudent counsel, were not considered as possessing more fidelity” than the rest.
6. *Famâ bella stare*.—“That wars depend upon rumour.” That is: That wars are often affected in their results by rumours. See also Lib. ix. Cap. v. § 15. (*Pugnabat pro Rege*, &c.)
7. *Absentiâ suâ*.—“While he (Darius) was at a distance.”
8. *Fortè eâdem*, &c.—The two armies, by going through different passes, accidentally avoided each other, until, learning their mutual position, they wheeled about and faced each other in the battle, each with its front towards its own country.
9. *Reverterentur*.—“Were returning.”
10. *Incondita*.—“Undisciplined.”
11. *Quod*.—The matter referred to by this relative follows in the next clause.
12. *Nec injuriâ*, &c.—“Nor did he without reason.”
13. *Corpora*, &c.—“To attend to their physical wants.”
14. *Signum tubâ*.—The signal by which the different watches of the night were made known to the soldiers.
15. *Agmen—aciem*.—See Note 18, Lib. iii. Cap. iv.
16. *Raptimque*, &c.—Cæsar (Com. de Bell. Gall. ii. 19, &c.) gives a very vivid description of his being rather unexpectedly called into action with the Nervii, but with results widely differing from those that befell Darius.
17. *Unum*.—*Unius*?
18. *A mari quoque*, &c.—“Ready to bring up other troops against

Note

the enemy from the direction of the sea, which protected his right wing."

19. *Destinata*.—The object of *discussit*. Cicero in a letter to his friend Lentulus (ad Fam. i. 8, Lamb. ed. 1584), expresses in striking language the tendency of mankind to praise or blame according to events. "*Sed hæc sententia et illi et nobis probabatur; ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimatueros videremus; si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te, et sapienter, et fortiter,—sin aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos, et cupide et temere,—fecisse dicturos, * * * * judicium non tam ex consilio tuo quàm ex eventu homines esse facturos.*"

LIB. III. CAP. IX.

1. *Stetit*.—"Was formed."
2. *Subsidiis*.—"As reserves."
3. *Assucta*.—This participle, like the verb from which it is derived, is sometimes followed by the dative and sometimes by the ablative.
4. *Millia*, may be in the nominative in apposition with *acies* according to our own punctuation, or in the accusative, and governed by *ad* understood.
5. *Quidquid*, sc. *loci*.
6. *Cornuæque*, &c.—"While the wings *rested*, the one (the left) on the high ground; the other (the right), on the sea."
7. *Insederant*.—"Had posted themselves."
8. *Agrianos opposuit*.—Probably because they were from a mountainous region, and would be most likely to drive an enemy from an elevated position.
9. *Eaque res*, &c.—The order is: *Eaque res præstitit latus agminis tutum Alexandro, quod, timuerat, ne incesseretur supernè*. The student will probably have observed that the distinction between *acies* and *agmen*, mentioned in a former note, is not always kept up in this description of the battle. In this very sentence *agminis* evidently means the extended line of battle, usually expressed by *acies*. As to *timuerat ne*, see Harkness' Latin Gram. § 492, 4.

LIB. III. CAP. X.

1. *Clamorem*.—The custom of shouting upon engaging in battle is as natural as it is usual; and, while it tends to terrify the enemy, its reaction upon those shouting is favourable in raising the animal spirits, and thus exciting to more physical activity.

Note

2. *Exercitûs impar numero*.—"Not corresponding with the number of the army"; that is: The shout was louder than would have been expected from a body of men comparatively so small. For this shout's being *major* than that of the Persians we may infer a reason from our author's applying the word *inconditum*, "irregular," (that is: "not all at once,") to the shout of the Persians. The latter part of the sentence assigns the reason for *impar numero exercitûs*.
3. *Quippe semper, &c.*—Any reference to echo will scarcely fail to recall to the mind of the classical student the epithet, both concise and beautiful, which Horace (Carm. I. 12), bestows upon it.
4. *Suos inhibens, &c.*—To prevent their exhausting themselves before the battle actually commenced, "lest," as our author expresses it, "they should engage in the battle out of breath by a too quickened respiration, caused by overhaste."
5. *Non ipsius, &c.*—That is: It was not so much the authority of Alexander, as their own desire of fame and their wish to be avenged upon the Persians for the wrongs and indignities they had inflicted upon Greece, that induced the Macedonians to set out on the present war of conquest.
6. *Orbis liberatores*.—Why not *orbem liberaturos*?
7. *Emensosque, &c.*—"And having hereafter attained the limits," &c.
8. *Macedonum*.—The genitive of possession, in connexion with the verb *fore*.
9. *Umbonibus*.—The *umbo* was a metallic point, (by some stated to be eight inches long), projecting from the centre of the shield, and was used in close combats to repel attacks. It is often translated by the English word "boss." See O. T. (Job xv. 26.)
10. *Prædam, non arma*.—That is: Gilded arms, which would soon become their prey.
11. *Viri*.—"As men," in contrast with "*imbellibus faminis*. For a striking instance of the distinction between *vir* and *homo* the student is referred to Cic. Tusc. Quæst. (II. 22).
12. *Mutarcent*.—Here this verb governs the accusative of the thing given and the ablative of the thing received. See Note 10, Lib. iii. Cap. 7.

LIB. III. CAP. XI.

1. *Ad teli jactum*.—According to Vegetius the distance that a weapon, thrown by a machine, would reach, was about 575 feet.
2. *Quippe, &c.*—The Persian monarchs placed great reliance on their cavalry.

Note

3. *Duabus alis equitum*.—"Two squadrons of cavalry." The term *ale* is derived from their position on the sides or flanks of an army, like the wings of a bird. According to Raderus the *ala* contained 130 horse. Of course this number must have varied with different nations and in different ages.
4. *Occultè circumire, &c.*—That is: To pass secretly around the rear of the Macedonian army and form a junction with Parmenio.
5. *Simul*—For *Simul ac.*—"As soon as."
6. *In eosdem concurrentia*.—"On their way to the same objects" Literally, "Running together to the same."
7. *Mucrones*.—*Mucro* means the point of any thing,—here of a sword. The combat was so close that they could use their swords in no other manner than by thrusting the point into the faces of their adversaries,—a mode of proceeding urged upon his soldiers by Julius Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia, in the well-known phrase, *Feri faciem, miles*.
8. *Collato pede, &c.*—Supply *pedi*. "Foot brought against foot." That is: They fought man to man as in single combat.
9. *Opimum*.—This word has reference to the *spolia opima*, "which the commander-in-chief of a Roman army stripped in a field of battle from the leader of the foe." See Anthon's Smith's Antiq.
10. *Incitamentum*.—In apposition with *Darius*.
11. *In paucissimis*.—This phrase and the similar one "*in paucis*" are of frequent occurrence with our author. They cannot be literally translated, but their meaning may be expressed by the word "especially." We may here paraphrase the clause thus, "He had very few equals in courage, and in affection for the king."
12. *Adverso corpore, &c.*—"Having received their wounds in front;" —which was considered honourable.
13. *Perstrictum est*.—"Was slightly wounded." "Was grazed."
14. *Ad hoc*.—"For the purpose." Ælian (Hist. Anim. vi. 48) says that a mare was employed on this occasion, and that her speed was accelerated by the remembrance of the foal she had left at home. Indeed, he goes so far as to say, that it was a usual custom with Darius, to have a number of mares ready for his sudden flights, their speed being hastened in a way similar to the one mentioned here.
15. *Adeo pavor, &c.*—Literally, "So much does terror dread even its own protectors." That is: Those blinded by fear are apt to overlook that which would be of service to them.
16. *Cum Thessali dilapsi*.—"When the Thessalians, who had yielded

Note

- ground." We have ventured to alter the position of the word *dilapsi*, as more accordant to the sense. The common reading places it after *equis*, which would have been well enough, had the word been *relapsi*.
17. *Serie laminarum graves*.—"Encumbered with plate armour." It was no uncommon thing in ancient, as well as more modern times, for horses and riders to be clad in complete armour. See Anthon's Smith's Antiquities.
 18. *Agmen quod celeritate, &c.*—"With difficulty formed into column, a movement which depends upon celerity for its value." We would make *quod* refer to the whole statement and not to the single word *agmen*. This whole passage has been much *vexed* by critics, and after all their labours it is by no means free from difficulties.
 19. *Haud sanè, &c.*—That is: They were not routed but made an orderly retreat.
 20. *Nec ulla facies, &c.*—"Nor was any form of misery wanting." The picture here displayed has been too faithfully copied by nations calling themselves Christians, as Drogheda, Badajoz, Saragossa, &c., sadly testify.
 21. *Tunc verò, &c.*—"Then truly might be seen an instance of intolerable misfortune." For the successive shades of meaning in the word *impotens*, see Leverett's Lexicon.
 22. *Formæ pulchritudine*.—"By the beauty of her person."
 23. *Laceratis, &c.*—"With their hair dishevelled and their garments rent:"—the well-known marks of profound grief among Oriental nations.
 24. *Veris quondam, &c.*—"Titles that once were applicable but now no longer belonged to them."
 25. *Cæsa sunt, &c.*—The numbers here mentioned as slain are large, but seem small in comparison with the numbers that fell in the battle, between Abijah, King of Judah and Jeroboam, King of Israel. See O. T. (II. Chron. xiii. 17.)

LIB. III. CAP. XII.

1. *Spes non erat*.—*Non* may, in many cases, be adjectively translated by the word "no," as in the present instance. "There was no hope."
2. *Cultu*.—"Dress." The order is, *Namque unus e captis spadonibus, qui forte steterat ante ipsarum tabernaculum, agnovit amicum, (quod Darius, sicut dictum est paulo ante, abjecerat, ne proderetur cultu,) in manibus ejus qui ferebat [id] repertum.*

Note

3. *Armigeris*.—Raderus, after remarking, that *armiger*, which originally denoted "one that bore the weapons" of his master (*Anglicè*, "Esquire"), came afterwards to signify any heavy-armed soldier, says that the word in this place may admit of either sense.
4. *Actum esse*.—An idiomatic phrase, equivalent to the English one, "It was all over with them." It occurs frequently in the comic poets. It is here explained by the exclamation of the attendants, "*adesse supremam horam*."
5. *Itaque ut quæ*, &c.—This whole scene is beautifully described and yet with great simplicity. We can almost see the trembling forms of the pale, yet beautiful, ladies of the harem, as they look upon each other in despair, expecting each moment to be their last.
6. *Irrupisse*, &c.—They were not aware of the order he had given to the attendant to announce his coming.
7. *Provolutæ*.—This word is expressive of the extreme humility of position assumed by Orientals on occasions like the present. Literally, "Rolled down before." Something more is implied than mere falling on the knees, which would probably be the last resort of those from western nations. We refer to the generally prevailing custom. There were doubtless many exceptions on both sides. Cicero applies to himself the words *stratum* and *abjectum*, when speaking of his application to several individuals to prevent his banishment.
8. *Leonatus*.—Supply *respondit*.
9. *Justis*.—This word is used absolutely, to express "due ceremonies, whether military or funereal." Here it is used in the latter sense. Sometimes *funebria* is expressed with it.
10. *Tabernaculum cum*, &c.—Few of Alexander's actions have gained him more applause than this visit to his captive queens, and his noble bearing while with them. Such manly and virtuous conduct only renders his subsequent cruelties and immoralities the more inexcusable as proceeding from one "who knew the right, and yet the wrong pursued."
11. *Arbiter*, in its original sense, means "one who goes to view anything" that he may form an impartial judgment of its character. Hence, to be "a witness of," "a participator in"; in this last sense it is used here.
12. *Non alius*.—"No other." See Note 1 of this chapter.
13. *Ut magis*, &c.—"That it seemed rather to be accorded to the king than claimed by him."
14. *Corporis habitu*.—"Personal appearance," referring principally to his height, which was greater than that of Alexander.

Note

15. *Suo more*.—That is: by prostration. See Note 7 of this chapter.
16. *Monstrantibus*.—Supply *quibusdam*.
17. *Nam et hic, &c.*—That is: "He is my other self,"—implying the intimacy that subsisted between them. Alexander used to say of him, that he loved *Alexander*, but that Craterus loved *the king*.
18. *Equidem, si, &c.*—Every reader will concur in the sentiment here expressed, and will feel the force of our author's remarks the further he proceeds in this interesting biography.
19. *Indictâ causâ*.—"Without a hearing."
20. *Superfuderat, &c.*—"Had not overflowed his mind"; "Had not drowned" his better feelings.
21. *Ad ultimum, &c.*—"At last he was incapable of enduring its greatness." That is: He could not withstand the temptations thrown in his way by constant success.
22. *Adeo ipse—ut*.—"He not only did not himself—but".
23. *Nequis, &c.*—"That no one should trifle with the persons of any of his captives." Zumpt has the following singular note, which is certainly abhorrent to the context: "*Should insult*; namely, by proposals to them to become traitors to Darius."
24. *Æquitate*.—Raderus succinctly contrasts the conduct of Alexander with that of Darius, in the following note. "*Darius Macedonas crudeliter vel mactavit, vel mutilavit, et hoc ante prælium Alexander totum ipsius gynæceum sacrosanctum servavit. Darius percussorem mille talentis in Alexandrum immittere conabatur, cum æger Tarsi decumberat; hoc nunquam fecit Alexander, qui apertâ semper virtute et Marte grassabatur ad gloriam. Præterea, ut ex epistolâ Alexandri ad Darium infrâ disces, parens Alexandri, Persarum impulsu, ut ipsi gloriabantur, interfectus est,*" &c. Sisygambis had certainly good reason to draw a comparison between Alexander and her own son in favour of the former.
25. *Et præterita, &c.*—"I am not carried away by the elevation of my former state, and am able to bear the yoke of present adversity." *Copio* is used in the same sense as *capit* above; see Note 21. *Pati jugum*, "to bear the yoke," is a figure of speech obviously taken from the patient endurance of the ox while under the yoke, and is frequently employed in Scripture. The most apposite instance occurs in Lamentations iii. 27. "It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth."
26. *Tuâ interest*.—Zumpt considers *tuâ* in the ablative; his translator, Schmitz, however, considers it an accusative for *tuam*. See Harkness' Latin Grammar, § 408, 1, 2). The passage may be ren-

Notes

dered thus: "It is of great importance to you, with regard to the degree of power you may be permitted to exercise over us, if you are willing [that you should be willing] that it should be testified rather by clemency than severity."

27. *Jussit*.—"Requested." This word is frequently used without any idea of positive command, as in the colloquial phrase, "*Jubeo te valere*," and in instances like the present.
28. *Hephæstionem intucns*.—"Addressing Hephæstion." Literally, "Looking attentively at," but it may be frequently rendered as above.

LIB. III. CAP. XIII

1. *Is*.—Namely, Parmenio.
2. *Eum*, sc. *Mardum*. Curtius here, as in many instances, uses *eum* for *se*.
3. *Comitibus*.—These were nominally "attendants," but, as appears by what follows, were intended to keep him in custody.
4. *Audebat*.—*Audentis* would seem more natural, as connected with *timentis*.
5. *Qui duces*, &c.—"To act as guides," &c. See Harkness' Latin Grammar, § 489, II.
6. *Omnibus*, &c.—"A crowd calculated to excite the compassion of all except him," &c.
7. *Viros—conjuges, liberos*.—These accusatives are in apposition with *prædam*.
8. *Abstrictas vestes*.—"Garments which they had tied up in bundles."
9. *Cum fortuna*, &c.—"Since the misfortunes of the king permitted even the lowest to indulge in liberties derogatory to him."
10. *Intentiore curd*.—"With great earnestness." The comparative may be used here to indicate, that he was more anxious than the result proved to be necessary.
11. *Justum prælium*.—"A regular battle."
12. *Simul*.—The common reading is *simulans*, the force of which is already implied in *quasi et*, &c. *Simulato* and *æmulans* have been substituted for it. Freinsheim and Schmieder strike it out altogether. We merely remove the last three letters.
13. *Facies*.—"A spectacle."
14. *Quippe*, &c.—"For things, that had accumulated during so many years of a prosperity, remarkable even beyond belief, were at that

Note

time dragged forth, some having been torn by the bushes, others buried in the mud."

15. *Vixque, &c.*—"And there was scarcely any courtier's house that was exempt from so great a calamity."
16. *Pecuniæ signatæ.*—"Coined money." Probably golden Darics. These coins are supposed to have originated with Darius Hystaspis, who, according to Herodotus, reformed the Persian currency. Hesi-chius says they bore the image of Darius;—but consult Anthon's Smith's Antiq. See also Lib. iii. Cap. i. Note 16.
17. *Facti argenti.*—"Silver plate."
18. *Credo, Regis, &c.*—"Having, I believe, a reverence for the king's majesty, even in that time of calamity."

LIB. IV. CAP. I.

1. *Fugiebat,*—"Was fleeing."
2. *Eorum, sc. eorum.*
3. *Fore ipsius.*—"Would become his own."
4. *Per quem.*—"Through whose instrumentality."
5. *Imperata fecerunt.*—See Note 2, Lib. viii. Cap. i.
6. *Præcipue eum, &c.*—A similar instance of offence taken at the inscription of a letter occurs in the life of Washington. See Spark's Life of Washington, (page 171, Bost. 1839.)
7. *Postulabat—petebat.* *Peto, Postulo* and *Posco* have been thus distinguished. *Peto*, "I ask as a favour." *Postulo*, "I demand as a right, and rightfully." *Posco*, "I require whether rightfully or wrongfully." These distinctions, however, do not always hold good.
8. *Quantumcumque, &c.*—Digby translates thus, "As much money as all Macedonia was worth." A sense which *caperet* will hardly bear. We would prefer "As much as all Macedonia was capable of furnishing." That is: Darius was willing to pay an amount equal to the yearly revenue of the whole of Macedonia.
9. *Æquo—Martē.*—"In a fair fight," that is: Where he would have a fair field for the manœuvres of all his forces, and not be cramped in narrow passes as at Issus.
10. *Contentus patrio, &c.*—"That he should be contented with the dominion inherited from his father, and relinquish territories belonging to the empire of another."
11. *Maximè.*—"Substantially."
12. *Philippum, &c.*—The opinion generally prevalent among those

Note

- versed in history is, that private revenge was the sole cause of Philip's death. Doubtless it was matter of rejoicing to the Persians, who were well aware of his designs upon their country. Alexander, however, is not the only conqueror, that has made use of unfounded assertions to justify his rapacity.
13. *Licitamini*.—"You put up at auction." "You expose to sale." "You set a price upon." That is: "You offer the highest rewards for the heads of your enemies." A dastardly course, and yet often thought justifiable in the case of rebels. Thus a price was set on the head of Washington, and, recently, on that of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot.
14. *Proximè*.—"Very lately."
15. *Utpote qui, &c.*—"Inasmuch as thou art one who hast not," &c.
16. *Consulere victis*.—"To take measures for the benefit of the vanquished."
17. *Memento, &c.*—This answer truly savours of the moral sublime, especially when it is considered that Alexander was in the midst of the enemy's country with a comparatively small army.
18. *Ipsc, sc. Alexander*.
19. *Sidona*.—A Greek acc. sing.
20. *Darii opibus adjutus, &c.*—Freinsheim suggests *addictus, et quia*, and the suggestion is favoured by many subsequent editors. It certainly gives a better sense than the reading in the text. Perhaps some words may have fallen out, and the whole passage may have conveyed this meaning; "Strato was reigning in that city, supported by the resources of Darius. *He nevertheless betrayed his trust and surrendered the city; but because,*" &c. The words *deditionem fecerat* certainly imply a previous mention of the fact.
21. *Eo fastigio*.—"That elevation."
22. *Hospites*.—*Hospes* may denote "the entertainer" or "the one entertained;"—"the host" or "the guest." Here it signifies those with whom Hephæstion "took up his quarters."
23. *Negaverunt*.—It is often well, in translating, to transfer the negative, contained in this word, to the following verb, as in this instance, "Who declared that no one," &c. Again, *Negavit se venturum esse*, "He declared that he would not come."
24. *Macti*.—Some derive this word from *magis aucti*, others from an obsolete verb *mago*, whence also *magnus, magis, &c.* *Macti virtute* seems, in every instance, to be the expression of a wish on the part of the speaker, for a virtuous and honourable prosperity in behalf of those addressed.

Note

25. *Imminere*.—"Intent upon."
26. *Potiozem esse*.—"Had stronger claims."
27. *Non exaudiebat*.—"Did not listen to." "Did not hear so as to pay any attention to." This passage has rather a rhetorical cast.
28. *Subitò deinde, &c.*—"Unexpectedly, then, do those of whom mention has already been made enter," &c.
29. *Quem, &c.*—"Which Abdalonymus chanced to be weeding and putting in order."
30. *Habitus—hic vestis*.—"This style of dress." That is: "These royal garments." Our author makes use of the same expression. Lib. iii. Cap. iii. § 6.
31. *Cave ne, &c.*—See Hark. Latin Gram. § 535, 1, 2). If *cave* be followed by *ne*, we translate: "Be careful not to"—if by *ut* expressed or implied, "Be careful how you," or "Be on your guard against."
32. *Injecta*.—"Thrown upon" his shoulders.
33. *Aliorum studium, &c.*—"The zeal of some, the vexation of others, was openly manifested."
34. *Corporis—habitus*. See Lib. iii. cap. xiii. Note 14.
35. *Nihil haventi*.—We believe this is the true reading instead of *habenti*, and had so noted it upon the margin, before we met with it in the various readings of Valpy's Delphin ed. Though Freinsheim retains *habenti*, yet his whole comment upon the passage is based upon the sense that *haverit* would give to it.
36. *Magnæ indolis specimen*.—"The proof of a great mind."
37. *Et cum, &c.*—The order is: *Et cum arbitraretur, quæque, in illo statu rerum, habiturum id quod occupasset, velut possessum certo jure, decrevit, &c.* *Illo statu* refers to the confusion produced throughout the Persian dominions by the successes of Alexander.
38. *Ducet*.—Supply *ut*.
39. *Utendum*.—"That he ought to take advantage of."
40. *Ad hoc ipsum*.—We have placed these words in brackets as useless, and having, according to Bothe, very much the appearance of a gloss. Some read *ad ipsum, i. e.*, to Amyntas.
41. *Castrisque positis, &c.*—The Delphin editor justly remarks on this passage, "*Vix ullus toto Curtio desperatior locus, et qui Criticorum ingenia magis exercuerit.*" We are far from assuming to decide the question, but give such a reading as appears to make good sense, though it may not be the language of Curtius.
42. *Victoriæ fiducia, &c.*—"Rendered incautions by the confidence inspired by their late victory." A very common cause of disaster to armies. To this Claudian (iv. Cons. Honorii, 334) refers

Note

—“*Multis damnosa fuere
Gaudia: dispersi pereunt, somnoque soluti.
Sæpius incauta nocuit victoria turba.*”

43. *Ei*, sc. *Alexandro*—*illi*, sc. *Dario*.
44. *Præfectus*.—“Admiral.”
45. *Cretenses*, *has*, &c.—“The Cretans, according as they sided with one party or the other, were garrisoned, at one time by the Spartans, at another by the Macedonians.”
46. *Unum certamen*.—“The one great contest;” namely, between Alexander and Darius.

LIB. IV. CAP. II.

1. *Potens non erat*.—“Had no control.”
2. *Itaque*.—“Accordingly.”
3. *Volventi*.—We give this reading in preference to the common one, *evolvens*; or *evolvit*, the one approved by Schmieder, as more consonant with the passage in Virgil (*Æneid*. I. 86), which our author is supposed to have had in his eye.

“*Unde Eurysque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus, et castos volvunt ad litora fluctus.*”

4. *Nec occipiendo*, &c.—The order is, *Nec quidquam obstat occipiendo opcri, quo Macedones parabant jungere insulam continenti, magis quàm ille ventus*. This clause justifies the use of the word *volventi* above, as referring to *Africo*.
5. *Exedant*.—This verb literally signifies “to eat out,” and is here very expressive of the manner in which the waves, by working their way between the interstices of the mole, finally “ate out” and destroyed its stability. Virgil applies the participle of the same verb to a mountain,

—“*Est specus ingens
Exest latere in montis.*”—*GEORG.* IV. 419.

6. *Non*.—See Lib. iii. Cap. xii. Note 1.
7. *Præceptum in salum*, &c.—That is: “The wall, by rising perpendicularly from the sea, prevented any footpath around it.”
8. *Pendentes et instabiles*, &c.—“From their flowing and unstable character, they could,” &c.
9. *Semper*, &c.—That is: Tyre was always honoured as the *mother country*.

Note

10. *Opifices*.—Tyre was celebrated for her artificers from the earliest period of her history. The estimation in which they were held among the Jews is shown by the part assigned to them in building Solomon's temple 1000 B. C., or 700 years before Alexander's time. For a graphic, and, at the same time, reliable account of the artificers and arts, merchants and merchandise of Tyre, see O. T., (Ezekiel, chapp. xxvii. and xxviii.)
11. *Harpagones*, from Ἀρπάζω, "to seize," were "iron hooks" fixed at the end of long poles. The *corvi* seem to have been "grappling irons" attached to ropes and thrown into vessels, and, being drawn back, they thus deprived them of their spars and rigging.
12. *Accenderent*.—Supply *Tyrîi* or *opifices* as the subject of this verb.
13. *Idque omen, &c.*—"And the Tyrians interpreted that omen as a dreadful thing for the Macedonians." *Metum* is here put for the cause of fear.
14. *Apud Macedonas quoque, &c.*—One omen related by Plutarch deserves mention on account of the ingenuity displayed in its interpretation. "In a dream Alexander thought he saw a satyr playing before him at some distance, and when he advanced to take him, the savage eluded his grasp. However, at last, after much coaxing and taking many circuits around him, he prevailed with him to surrender himself. The interpreters, plausibly enough, divided the Greek term for satyr into two, Σα Τύπος, which signifies *Tyros is thine*." See Plut. Lives, (Harp. ed., p. 474.)
15. *Contra jus gentium*.—In all ages, and among all people, the persons of ambassadors, heralds, and *flag-bearers* have been held sacred, and any violence offered to them has been supposed to call down the special vengeance of the Deity. But, alas for man's reverence of the Deity, history furnishes many instances like the present, where they have been put to death by a people too confident of impunity.
16. *Exhauriendas esse, &c.*—That is: That whole territories would be exhausted to furnish materials to construct a mole to fill up the interval between the island and the main land.
17. *Ad manum*.—"At hand." Agreeing exactly with the English idiom.
18. *Inscutatio*.—"Raillery."
19. *Nondum commissum*.—"Not yet united in all its parts."
20. *In expedito esset*.—"It were an easy matter."
21. *Igitur rex munientibus, &c.*—Blancard, in a note to his edition of Arrian (p. 132, Amst. 1668), incidentally remarks on this passage,

Note

as follows: "*Sic legendum e vestigiis vetustæ lectionis vidit amicus noster Gronovius, nam quidam expressi, ex jumentis. * * * Idem verè in Curtio legit, ut extra teli ictum essent. Vulgati improbe, jactum.*"

LIB. IV. CAP. III.

1. *Capite molis*, both here and a few lines above, denotes "the head or extremity of the mole" as far as it was advanced towards the city. It is probable, therefore, that the towers were of a construction similar to those commonly used in the siege of cities, and accordingly, were furnished with wheels, or rollers, that they might be moved forward as the work advanced.
2. *Summa tabulata*.—Raderus is disposed to consider the roof or covering of the whole work to be here intended, and not merely "the upper stories" of the towers.
3. *Capere eos, quam, &c.*—In order to extort information from them, or, possibly, to reserve them for crucifixion. Some have thought that their lives were spared that they might act as ambassadors to Alexander, the Tyrians fearing to send any of their own countrymen, lest he might retaliate upon them the slaughter of his heralds.
4. *Hic*.—"In this instance."
5. *Verius*.—"With more reason."
6. *Rex novi, &c.*—"The king, upon undertaking a mole of a new formation, carried it out, not with the side, but with the direct front against the wind."
7. *Ea cetera, &c.*—That is: The front of the mole formed a protection for the rest of the works, which lay, as we should say, *under its lee*.
8. *Super* is here used adverbially.
9. *Præcipium auxilium, &c.*—Their principal dependence was upon those who, &c.
10. *Eminentium*.—"That projected out from the mass."
11. *Ægro animo Alexander, &c.*—"When Alexander was quite disheartened, (more literally, "sick at heart,") and doubtful enough, &c." Sallust and other writers of the Augustan age furnish examples of æger followed by a genitive.
2. *Quinqueremis*.—A very good solution of the *vexata questio* as to the true meaning of the terms *triremis, quinqueremis, &c.*, (whether they denote "three," "five," &c. ranks of rowers, seated above each other, or so many tens of rowers, e. g., *triremis*, "a thirty-oared vessel,") which we lately met with, is, that it refers to the number

Note

- of men to each oar; consequently, *quinqueremis* would be a vessel so large, and having such length of oars, as to require five men to manage each. This explanation is, however, not free from difficulties. See Anthon's Smith's Antiquities.
13. *Arietum*.—The origin of this powerful instrument is lost in the obscurity of antiquity. The invention of battering-cannon soon after that of gunpowder quickly superseded its use, though it is said still to be found among some of the barbarous nations of the interior of Africa, where gunpowder has not been introduced.
 14. *Interiorem quoque, &c.*—"Having also begun [the construction of] an inner wall, in order that," &c.
 15. *Terrestri* refers to the attack upon the walls from the end of the mole: *navali* to that from the ships.
 16. *Quippe binas, &c.*—Our author, having mentioned above that there was not room enough at the foot of the walls even for a foot-path, and having just stated that battering-rams were made use of, here proceeds to show in what manner they were brought near enough to the walls to be of service before the mole was finished. These *floating batterics* certainly indicated great skill in military engineering.
 17. *Proris*.—"The prows," or, in modern parlance, "the bows" of ancient vessels were generally very elevated, and usually curved inward at the top, so as to form a partial covering to those on deck.
 18. *Admovebantur*.—"Were advancing against." The imperfects in this sentence denote the action of the verb as still going on when another action takes place.
 19. *Internitebat*.—"Shone forth between times," "every now and then."
 20. *Tabulata*.—"The staging" or "flooring," which sustained the *arietes*.
 21. *Turbido, sc. mari*.
 22. *Classici*.—"The sailors." This word, so familiar in its English form as referring to distinguished writers of ancient and modern times, originally refers to the six *classes* into which the people of Rome were divided according to their wealth and standing (See Adams' Rom. Antiq.), and as the first *classis* embraced all the wealth and dignity of the state, "those of that class were called *classici*, all the rest were said to be *infra classem*." Hence it came to be applied to authors of eminence. Here it is merely the adjective from *classis* in its signification of "a fleet."

Note

23. *Cessit*.—"Yielded." The sea is here, by a fine personification, represented as a conquered enemy, yielding to its persevering conquerors.
24. *Lacerata pleraque*.—"Most of them in a shattered condition."
25. *Impediri*.—"Were embarrassed."
26. *Syracusani tunc, &c.*—Commentators are generally of opinion that our author is here guilty of an anachronism, as the earliest authentic account of the Syracusans being in Africa is under the reign of their king Agathocles, nearly thirty years subsequent to the siege of Tyre by Alexander. Still they may have made predatory incursions into the territories of the Carthaginians, accounts of which, though extant in the time of Curtius, may have since been lost.
27. *Fortius quidquid, &c.*—Every husband and father will respond to the force and truth of this remark.
28. *Eximia religione*.—"Extraordinary religious rites" called forth by their pressing necessities.
29. *Levis erat*.—"Had no weight of character."
30. *Aurca catend devinxiere, &c.*—Freinsheim, in his comment on this passage, exclaims, "Insane and self-destructive superstition! For if they attributed to their gods as much power as it is right and proper to assign to Deity, then why engage in the unequal contest with them? But if, on the other hand, they supposed they could be brought down to their own level, why consider them worthy of divine honours?" The learned commentator goes on to state that many of the Fathers used this argument, with great success, against the idolaters of their day.
31. *Retenturo*.—The usual reading is *retenturi*. But see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. § 643, where this passage is considered.
32. *Majore patria*.—"The mother country."
33. *Sacrum quoque, &c.*—The order is: *Quidam quoque erant auctores repctendi sacrum* (a sacrifice) (*quod quidem crediderim minime esse cordi Diis*) *intermissum multis sæculis, ut, (namely, that), &c.*
34. *Seniores* seems here to be a term of office equivalent to "The Elders," "The Senate."
35. *Admovit*.—Scheffer's reasoning satisfies us that this reading is better than *admonuit*.
26. *Corvos*.—The feathered tribe furnishes several words to denote things possessing very few ornithological characteristics. Besides *crows, cranes, eagles, &c.*, in our own language, we have *corvi* and *rostrum* in our author, *aquilæ* in Tacitus, and the following amusing instance in Plautus (Capt. v. 4.)

Note

*Nam ubi illò adveni; quasi patriciis pueris aut monedulis
Aut anates, aut coturnices dantur, quicum lusitent;
Itidem hæc mihi advenienti upupa, quâ mihi delectem, data est.*

37. *Corpusque*.—Acidalius acutely suggests, *corpus usque*.

LIB. IV. CAP. IV.

1. *Hic*.—"At this juncture."
2. *Solutâ obsidione, &c.*—"To raise the siege and direct his march to Egypt."
3. *Irritum*.—"Foiled of his purpose."
4. *Bellua*.—An American will hardly read this description without calling to mind the sea serpent so famous in the neighbourhood of Boston.
5. *Emersit*.—If the remark of the Delphin editor on the word *abripuisse*, a little below, be well founded, namely, *Neptunum sic molem in præceps daturum, quomodo cetum repente mersisset*, then we think the reading here should be *demersit*, "he plunged into the deep," signifying to the Tyrians, that thus would the mole, appearing to them like some huge animal, sink into the waters.
6. *Dilapsi*.—This word, literally signifying "gliding in different directions," admirably represents the well satisfied manner in which a number of persons, who have been overwhelmed in doubts and fears, mutually separate when relieved from those doubts and fears.
7. *Prima e Macedonum, &c.*—"The first of the Macedonian vessels that came up was a quinquereme, distinguished above the rest for its speed."
8. *E' diverso*.—"From opposite directions." The idea conveyed by the whole context is this: When the quinquereme found herself attacked on both sides, she turned suddenly around upon one of her adversaries, but, before she could get far enough around to bring her own beak to bear upon the side of her antagonist, and while in the act of turning, she exposed her side to the beak of her opponent, which was forced in so far as to unite the two vessels together.
9. *Exeuteretur e puppi*.—Any one who has seen the representations of ancient vessels can easily understand, how much the pilots were exposed to accidents, like the one here mentioned. The unhappy fate of Palinurus (*Æneid* v. 857) must occur to the reader.

*Vir primos inopina quies laxaverat artus;
Et super incumbens, cum puppis parte reclusâ
Cumque gubernaculo, liquidas projecit in undas
Præcipitem.*

Note

10. *Inhibentes remis*.—This phrase expresses what is called in nautical language “backing water.” Livy (xxvi. 39) has *Neque retro navem inhiherent*, omitting *remis*. The following also occurs in Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (iii. 659):

Postquam inhihent remis puppes, ac rostra recedunt.

11. *Evellere*.—This verb is in the third plur. perf. ind. act., not the pres. inf. act. We have the authority of Cicero for the use of *evelli* instead of *evulsi*.
12. *Submoveretur*.—“Was kept at a distance.”
13. *Ingenti animo, periculo majore*.—“With great courage, with still greater risk.” Acidalius thinks that Alexander himself would have preferred, that the adjectives should have exchanged places.
14. *Regio insigni*.—“The royal diadem.”
15. *Crebris arietibus*.—“By frequent strokes of the battering ram.” Arrian, who describes this whole scene more in detail, states that Alexander gave orders that the ships of the fleet, fitted out with moveable bridges, should attack the whole circuit of the walls, “that the Tyrians pressed on all sides might be thrown into confusion. This was done, and the ship that bore the king having reached a part of the wall, *breached* by the battering ram, the bridge was thrown across the space between the ship and the wall. Admetus, a distinguished warrior, was the first to mount the breach, but was slain by a lance. Alexander himself, with a few attendants, immediately succeeded, and was the first to take possession of any part of the wall.” (Lib. ii. *sub. fin.* p. 146, Blancard’s ed. 1668.) For an interesting account of “moveable bridges” for ships of war, see Arnold’s *History of Rome*. (Vol. II. p. 156. New York, 1846 D. Appleton & Co.)
16. *Occupant, &c.*—That is: They anticipate death, while it was in their power to choose the mode.
17. *Nemo tamen armatus, &c.*—“No one, however, with arms in his hands, could bear to seek aid from the Gods”; that is, by taking refuge in their temples.
18. *Sævientibus*.—“The infuriated soldiers.”
19. *Intra Macedonum præsidia*.—*Intra præsidia* seems here equivalent to Cicero’s *in præsidiis*; that is, “with the army,” “belonging to the camp.” See *Orat. pro Lig.* v. 69, and *Epist. ad Fam.* 13, 19. Scheffer however remarks, *Suspicior locum non esse satis integrum*.
20. *In quibus occidendi, &c.*—“In whose case,” or “With regard to whom the rage of killing had ceased,” through exhaustion on the

Note

part of the Macedonians. Some read *occidendis*; but why should those who had been slain be afterwards crucified?

21. *Ingens—spatium*.—About $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles, if we suppose them placed but 10 feet apart.
22. *Ditionis suæ fecit*.—"Subjected to its power."
23. *Libero—mari*.—That is: Free from rivals.

LIB. IV. CAP. V.

1. *Tandem* refers to what is narrated above. See Lib. iv. Cap. 1, Note 6.
2. *Statyræ erat nomen*.—Supply *ei*, and see Harkness' Latin Gram., § 387, 1, and Adams' Gram., Rule xxii, obs. 3.
3. *Inde Orientem, &c.*—"That he (Darius) would be satisfied with the countries extending thence eastward"; literally, "looking east."
4. *Nunquam diu, &c.*—Before this clause we may understand *meminerit*. "Let him remember that," &c.
5. *Multas se adhuc, &c.*—"That he had many resources left."
6. *In angustiis*.—Our author seems to make Darius use this phrase both literally and figuratively; referring to his present unfortunate circumstances as well as to the narrow passes at Issus, to which he attributed his late defeat.
7. *Sc.*—Darius. *Desineret, sc. Alexander*.
8. *Sibi*, the student will observe, depends on *aliena*, not on *promittere*.
9. *Victoria suæ præmia*.—Alexander sneers at the mock liberality of Darius in offering to him for a dowry those countries which he was already possessed of as "the fruits of his victories."
10. *Autem*.—"Moreover."
11. *Imperio suo destinasse*.—"Had marked out for his empire."
12. *Solemne, &c.*—"The regular" or "stated celebration of the Isthmian games." *Solemnis*, in its original signification, as compounded of the old word *Sollus* (= *Totus*) and *Annus*, denoted that which took place "annually"; but it soon lost that restricted meaning, and was applied to any thing occurring "at stated times," as in the present case,—the Isthmian games taking place every three years.
13. *Temporaria*.—"Time serving."
14. *Idem paulò antè, &c.*—That is: These same Greeks, now so ready to flatter Alexander, upon his conquest of Tyre, had, a little while before, eagerly caught at the slightest reports of a doubtful charac-

Note

- ter, in order that they might follow the fortunes of the successful party.
15. *Cæterum*.—This word has usually an elliptical signification, and implies some degree of antagonism to what precedes. In the present instance, the ellipsis may be thus supplied: "But, *whatever were the sentiments and designs of the Greeks—whatever their motives in sending the crown to Alexander, he not only,*" &c. It often, however, denotes a mere change of topic.
 16. *Comprehensis qui*, &c.—"Having seized those who were favouring the Macedonian interests."
 17. *Non tam suis*, &c.—That is: They did not depend so much upon the strength of their own army as upon the good will of the besieged, who, they knew, were only restrained from surrendering by the authority of their officers.
 18. *Pharnabazus cum Apollonide—traduntur*.—The grammatical accuracy of this construction, though approved by some modern grammarians with reference to our language, may well be questioned. It is justified on the ground that *cum* has the force of a conjunction.
 19. *In supplementum*.—"To recruit," or "reinforce."
 20. *Pharnabazi copiam*.—"An opportunity of seeing Pharnabazus."

LIB. IV. CAP. VI.

1. *Cæterum*.—See note 15 of preceding chapter.
2. *Nec magnam rem*, &c.—"Nor do they believe that any great enterprise can be sustained by one who finds it difficult to maintain secrecy, which nature has willed to be a very easy thing for man."
3. *Ob hanc causam* refers to the secrecy maintained by the Persians.
4. *Ingentis operis*.—"Of great extent." So also below, Lib. v. Cap. 1, § 2, *sub fin*.
5. *Cuniculos*.—This word, according to Littleton, is a diminutive from *cuneus*, "a wedge"; *quia cunei instar findit terram*.
6. *Specus*.—This word here signifies "the hollow passage formed by mining." Vitruvius uses the word to denote what miners technically call "a pit."
7. *Ut a sensu ejus*, &c.—Literally, "That he might turn them away from the perception of it."
8. *Desidente*.—"Settling." "Giving way" under the weight of the towers.
9. *Cum idem*, &c.—Literally, "While the same toil harassed them in carrying back the towers which had done so in moving them forward."

Note

10. *Corond.*—"With a *cordon* of troops."
11. *Opem Deum exposcens.*—Alexander's dependence on the Gods for aid, and his strict attention to religious observances, may well put to shame many who profess to believe in the true God.
12. *Glebam.*—"A clod of earth." Arrian (Lib. ii.) says it was a stone, which, if the raven was flying at any considerable distance above the king, would probably have destroyed him.
13. *Conatus.*—This word, of course, refers to the specific term *corvus*, and not to the generic term *avis* in the preceding sentence.
14. *Quippe ut, &c.*—"For when they saw," &c.
15. *Ad prima signa.*—"To the front rank."
16. *Majus fortunâ suâ facinus ausus.*—"Attempting a deed too great for his fortune"; that is, as some explain it: Too great for one in his humble condition to expect to be successful. Or, as others render it: Too great in comparison with any of his former achievements.
17. *Qui exiguâ, &c.*—The order is: *Qui, ictu evitato exiguâ declinatione corporis, gladio amputat manum barbari lapsam in vanum, [ita] defunctus (ut ipse arbitrabatur) periculo denunciato in illum diem.* The verb *labor*, whence *lapsam* comes, is used to denote "any gradual" or "unobserved" motion.
18. *Stantem.*—"Lodged."
19. *Perstititrat.*—"Had maintained his position."
20. *Linqui—animo.*—"To faint" or "swoon."
21. *Submitti genu.*—Thus Lucretius (I. 93).

Muta metu, terram, genibus submissa, petebat.
22. *Antesignanos.*—These appear to have been a body of troops, "selected for the defence of the standard (*signum*), before which they were stationed." See Anthon's Smith's Dict.
23. *Nondum—obductâ cicatrice.*—This refers to the new skin formed on a wound after healing.
24. *Unus.*—The words enclosed in brackets have been supplied to fill up a gap in the manuscripts.
25. *Juvenis.*—Alexander was about 24 years of age at this time.
26. *Aliis.*—"On other occasions."
27. *Jam tum peregrinos, &c.*—"His recent success already sustaining the introduction of foreign customs."
28. *Ad inquisitionem, &c.*—"To enlist foreign recruits."
29. *Atterebantur.*—"Were wasted away" as if by continued friction.
30. *Minor—fides.*—"Less confidence."

LIB. IV. CAP. VII.

Note

1. *Olim*.—"Long since."
2. *Cum precario imperio*.—That is: With an authority which he held only by sufferance of those whom he governed.
3. *Gazâ*.—According to Josephus, Alexander made an excursion to Jerusalem previous to setting out for Egypt. This expedition is graphically described by the Jewish historian, and the reason of its omission by Curtius and other profane writers is well discussed by Williams. (*Life of Alexander*, p. 127, Harpers' ed.)
4. *Castra Alexandri*.—We have already met with *Castra Cyri*, and the recurrence here of a similar phrase, denoting a town or settlement on the site of an ancient camp, leads us to remark that the student will find numerous instances of this nature in England. The ancient camps, particularly those of the Romans, were laid out and fortified with such care and strength, that, even when their military occupants had deserted them, the very remains presented conveniences and advantages so superior to those possessed by the rude and barbarous people among whom they were pitched, that they were resorted to by numbers as their best and most secure place of abode. In some cases, as in those which have occasioned this note, the term "camp," with the name of the hero who pitched it, would adhere to the place. In other cases it would receive an entirely new name from its new occupants. In England a middle course seems generally to have been followed, as there we find the word *Castra* corrupted into *Caster*, *Cester*, *Chester*, &c., and united with the names of those who first took advantage of the departure of their Roman conquerors, as, *Lancaster*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, &c.
5. [*Ostio amnis superato*.]—We have enclosed these words in brackets from a conviction that the text is altogether corrupt, and that no emendation, hitherto suggested, is wholly free from insuperable objections. The reading in the text, though the best we have met with, is hardly sanctioned by the context, which represents Mazaces as making the surrender in the neighbourhood of Memphis, which was far removed from any *mouth* of the Nile. We may, it is true, overcome this objection by supposing the whole Pelusiac branch (extending from fifteen miles below Memphis to the sea), as intended by *ostio*. In this case Mazaces might very well pass down the left bank of the river and cross the Pelusiac branch at the place where Alexander then was. In this way it agrees with the statement of Arrian (*Lib. iii. init.*),—that Mazaces "received Alexander into his

Note

cities and province in a friendly manner," while the latter was still on the Pelusiac branch. Zumpt, following the suggestion of Schmieder, reads *Heroon amne superato*, and refers to the canal "from the Pelusian branch of the Nile, past the city of Heroes, to the Red Sea." But the words *eodem flumine*, in the next sentence, in our view, overthrow this conjecture, for how could Alexander pass "from Memphis into the interior of Egypt," north or south, by the river of Heroes. Ortelius suggests *ocyus amne* and *hocce amne*, but neither appears satisfactory. The common reading *Onio* or *Orio* is palpably corrupt. To the multitude of conjectures, we would add *odio omni superato*, "suppressing (overcoming) every feeling of hostility," not as the undoubted reading, but as, perhaps, suggestive of it to some future annotator. *Odio*, in the sense of "hostility," is found at the close of the 3d chap. of the 6th Book.

6. *Ad interiora Egypti*.—Zumpt very decidedly applies these words to the "western parts of Lower Egypt." We think the word *penetrat* will hardly justify such a version. The brevity of Curtius in this place is the only argument against the more natural interpretation, viz.: The regions of southern or Upper Egypt. The course of Alexander, as appears to us from a comparison of the narratives of Curtius and Arrian, was this: Having reached the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile in seven days after leaving Gaza, he marched thence on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch to Heliopolis, situate a little above the apex of the Delta. On this march he received the submission of Mazaces. Still keeping on the right bank till he arrived opposite to Memphis (which is on the left, fifteen miles above the apex), he there crossed and spent some days in that city, where he sacrificed to Apis and other deities, and instituted games. Thence he made an excursion up the river *ad interiora Egypti*, of which the particulars are not given, and then, returning to Memphis, arranged his affairs preparatory to setting out for the oracle of Hammon. When all was ready, he moved down the river and through the Canopic branch till he reached the sea, where he founded Alexandria. Thence, marching along the coast, he arrived at Perætonium, from which place he plunged, by a direct southern course, into the deserts that surrounded the temple of Hammon.
7. *Quod præcaltum, &c.*—"Through which, as it was very deep and yielding to the footsteps, the feet with difficulty made their way."
8. *Haud contentus, &c.*—"Not satisfied with the summit of human elevation."
9. *Jam tamen*.—"Already, however."

Note

10. *Haud secus quàm, &c.*—"They looked in vain for the land [turning] their eyes in every direction, like those who have entered upon the boundless deep." By *terram* is meant something of a firmer character than the loose and moving sand through which they were passing.
11. *Utribus cameli.*—Skins filled with water are still carried on the backs of camels across that desert, as they were 2,000 years ago.
12. *Ob sitim impotentes sui.*—"Having no control over themselves on account of their thirst."
13. *Autecedentium, &c.*—"After the manner of those who go before and point out the way."
14. *Vir,* the student will observe, refers to *cadente*, not to *contacta est*.
15. *Cæli.*—"Of climate."
16. *Accolæ sedis, &c.*—The geography of Curtius, as has been demonstrated by many critics, is very much at fault in this description of the boundaries of the settlement around the temple of Hammon.
17. *Navigiorum spoliis, &c.*—"Who enrich themselves on the spoils of [shipwrecked] vessels."
18. *Et astu, &c.*—"And seize in shallows well known to themselves vessels that have been left by the tide."
19. *Tyrannorum.*—This word is here used in its earliest sense of an absolute monarch, without reference to the manner in which he exercised his authority.
20. *Oraculum.*—This word, like the English "oracle," has a twofold signification, viz, *the place* where a response is given, and *the response* itself.
21. *Inclinato, sc. die.*
22. *Donec sub ipsum, &c.*—"Until about daylight it moderates to its usual lukewarm temperature."
23. *Umbilico maxime, &c.*—This passage has given rise to much discussion among commentators, and various readings have been suggested. We have retained that which appears to be least open to objection. *Habitus* here means "the outward form" or "appearance,"—a sense in which the word is used several times by our author. (See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.) As to the visible representation of the deities of the ancients, by "smooth stones," or by a union of gems in the form here indicated, we would refer the inquiring student not only to Freinsheim's note on this passage, but also to Kitto's *Daily Bible Illustrations* (Isaiah and the Prophets, 19th week, Wednesday), and to a learned disquisition on the subject in Godfrey Higgins's *Celtic Druids*, (London, 1829, p. 209.)

Noto

Dr. Adam Clarke has some observations on the subject, in his comments on Gen. xxviii. 18, 19. For the origin of the worship of Jupiter Hammon, see Prideaux's *Connexion* (Vol. I. p. 374, Harpers' edition).

24. *Inconditum quoddam carmen*.—"A kind of rude strain."
25. *Institit quærere*.—"He proceeded to inquire."
26. *Parentis sui interfectores*.—He here refers to the iustigators and abettors of Pausanias.
27. *Negat*.—See Lib. iv. Cap. i. Note 23.
28. *An auctor esset*.—"Whether he would authorize them."
29. *Verè et salubriter, &c.*—"To one who, in a truthful and healthy state of mind, estimated the credit due to the oracle, the responses would have seemed indeed unworthy of confidence." Another reading makes this remark apply particularly to Alexander, but the succeeding clause justifies the present reading and its general application.
30. *Quàm capaces*.—"Than capable of bearing it with moderation."
31. *Famam—corrumpit*.—The Delphin editor (Tellier) justly remarks "that if Alexander could not succeed in persuading people that he was really the son of Jove, he would be branded with insane ambition; if, on the contrary, he did succeed, his exploits, which were wonderful as accomplished by a man, would excite no astonishment as performed by a son of Jupiter."
32. *Et Macedones, &c.*—The order is: *Et Macedones, assueti quidem regio imperio sed in majore umbrâ* (semblance) *libertatis quàm ceteræ gentes, adversati sunt [cum] affectantem immortalitatem contumaciùs quàm expeditabat aut ipsis aut regi*.

LIB. IV. CAP. VIII.

1. *Magnæ sedis*.—"Of a large settlement."
2. *Octoginta stadiorum*.—That is: Two miles and a half on each side, supposing the city to be square.
3. *Intempestiva*.—"Unseasonable," because he had not yet completely subdued Darius, who was all this while strengthening his resources.
4. *Æthiopiam*.—It has been well remarked, that, as the ancient geographers, whenever they were at a loss to designate the nations inhabiting the unknown regions of the North, applied to them the general term "Scythians," so, with like comprehensiveness, they employed the term "Æthiopians" to embrace all those tribes in the

Note

Torrid Zone, concerning whom they entertained crude and imperfect notions.

5. *Imminens bellum*.—"An impending war."
6. *Claustra Nili*.—"The defences at the mouths of the Nile."
7. *Jussis*.—"Supply *civibus* or *hominibus*."
8. *Culturam*.—"Would court." "Would invite."
9. *In paucis Alexandro carus*.—"Especially dear to Alexander." The phrase *in paucis* seems rather a favourite one with this author, and in this place appears to convey the idea that, *among the few who were dear to Alexander, Hector was one*.
10. *Hector, diu, &c.*.—"Hector having struggled long with the current, while his drenched garments and sandals bound to his feet prevented his swimming, at length reached the shore half dead; and, being worn out with his exertions, as soon as he began to draw his breath (literally, "as soon as he loosened his breath"), which fear and exposure had suppressed (more literally, "had overstrained"), he perished through want of assistance, for the rest had escaped in a different direction."
11. *Amissi ejus desiderio*.—"At his loss." Literally, "By the want of him lost."
12. *Extulit*.—This word is peculiarly applied to the burial of the dead. See instances in Terence (*Andr.* i. 1, 90), and *Cor. Nepos*. (x. 10, xviii. 4, xxv. 18.)
13. [*Innumeras*].—The common reading here is *e muris*, which the Delphin editor has properly enclosed in brackets "as redundant." Many editors consider them as an interpolation, and, accordingly, leave them out. Blancard in a note on page 158 of his edition of Arrian (*Amstel.* 1668) proposes "by transposing the words and by a slight change" to read the passage thus: *Quos illi ob injurias tortos in muris necaverunt*; adding this remark: "quâ ratione tyrannos palam et in conspectu civium occisos voluerit Curtius; id quod non incredibile est." We have supplied a word from conjecture, which, owing to the contracted form of words in manuscripts, might easily have been mistaken by a careless transcriber for *e muris*. It gives also a force to *injurias* which it seemed to need to justify the use of the word *tortos*.
14. *Gratulabantur*.—This verb is followed by the dative, when applied to the person congratulated;—by the accusative when the subject of congratulation is intended. Indeed in all cases both are implied; for we infer from the signification of the word that

Note

there must be a person to be congratulated and a subject of congratulation. In this instance *ci* or *Alexandro* must be supplied.

15. *Plcraque*, sc. *loca*.

16. *Ante omnia*, &c.—“Above all things to clear the sea from,” &c.

17. *Obnoxium*.—“Exposed to.”

LIB. IV. CAP. IX.

1. *Subsisteret*.—“Should make a stand.”

2. *Haud dubiè*, &c.—“As one who would doubtless exert a very powerful influence in person in exciting to an active part in the war those distant tribes, which he with difficulty roused to action by means of his satraps.”

3. *Sed ut*, &c.—“But as the report was circulated on good authority.”

4. *Haud ignarus*, &c.—“Well knowing with what an active adversary he had to deal.” Supply *sibi* after *esset*.

5. *Partibus simul affuerunt*.—“Were present together to take sides” with Darius.

6. *Quis*.—The old form for *quibus*. Supply *iis* before it.

7. *Domandi*.—“That were to be broken in.”

8. *Quadrigæ*.—The student will bear in mind that the ancients harnessed their horses abreast of each other, irrespective of the number. See Anthon's Smith's Dict. *Bigæ*. *Currus*.

9. *Unicum—auxilium*.—“A favourite resource.”

10. *Summis rotarum orbibus*.—“On the circumference of the wheels,” technically termed “The felloes.”

11. *Aliæ in terram demissæ*.—Scheffer (*De Re Vehiculari*) represents these as attached to the under part of the axletree.

12. *Nobilis*.—“Well known.”

13. *Eidem mandatum*, &c.—Every reader must be struck with the similarity between this injunction and that of the Russian commander-in-chief in Napoleon's ruinous campaign to Moscow. Cæsar frequently adopted the same course against his enemies, and compares its effect to that of dieting in the cure of disease.

14. *Nobilem—facturus*.—“Soon to render it famous.” Some have supposed, that Curtius, from his use of the term *vicum* “a village,” when all other writers represent Arbela as a distinguished city (see particularly Strabo, Lib. xvi.), wrote Guagamela, and that Arbela has been foisted into the text by some transcriber, who had only heard of the action as having taken place near that city.

Notes

15. *Sicut antè Euphratem*.—This refers to the former passage of Darius across the Euphrates about two years before, when, as in this case, he consumed five days in crossing. See Lib. iii. Cap. vii. *init.*
16. *Opportuna explicandis, &c.*—"Suitable for the evolutions of his troops."
17. *Si quò, &c.*—"If the plains any where presented an elevation."
18. *Alexandro, &c.*—The order is: [*Illi*], *qui æstimabant numerum ejus (Dari) copiarum, quantum poterant conjectari procul, vix fecerunt fidem Alexandro, majores copias esse reparatas, tot millibus cæsis.*
19. *Undecimis castris.*—See Note 5, Lib. iii. Cap. vii.
20. *Qui ad inhibendum, &c.*—"Who had come up with six thousand horse to dispute the passage." In Arrian we find but 3000.
21. *Periculum sui facere.*—"To test his own strength."
22. *Præter Arbela, &c.*—That is; He reaches the Tigris at a point higher up than, or "beyond" Arbela.
23. *Alius, sc. fluvius.*
24. *Igitur pedes, &c.*—Diodorus represents the troops as uniting their hands together for mutual support in order to withstand the force of the current. That mode could hardly agree with the *levatis super capita armis* of our author. Cæsar (De Bell. Civ. i. 64) furnishes an instance very similar to this, where in crossing the Ebro he made use of his cavalry, and also the beasts of burden to protect the infantry.
25. *Modò—modò.*—"At one moment—at another."
26. *Studet.*—"Is anxious."
27. *Monere.*—Historical infinitive, dependent upon *capit* or some similar word understood.
28. *Invicem nutantium.*—These words refer to the involuntary nodding of their heads while endeavouring to maintain their balance in the current.
29. *Superavit.*—This word applies, in the first member of the sentence, to the passage of a river—in the second, to the conquest of an army.
30. *Audaciæ quoque, &c.*—That is: The charge of rashness, laid to his account as the quality by which he chiefly prospered, may be somewhat palliated by the fact that it was never brought to the test whether he had acted rashly or not.
31. *Quod relatum—posuit.*—"Which he brought back and laid."

LIB. IV. CAP. X.

Note

1. *Deficiens*.—"Being eclipsed."
2. *Condidit*.—"Withdrew."
3. *Sollicitisque*.—"And great awe and great fear, as a consequence of it, were infused into the soldiers, already anxious as to the results of such a mighty contest as was at hand."
4. *In unius*, &c.—"To promote the vain glory of one man."
5. *Temporum orbes*.—"The planets that marked the seasons."
6. *Edocent*.—"Do not give precise information."
7. *Impotens*.—"Having no control over themselves." (*Multitudo*.)
8. *Dextrâ Tigrim*, &c.—Another proof that Alexander crossed the Tigris above Arbela.
9. *Per otium*.—"At his leisure."
10. *Patere vel*, &c.—"That the king lay exposed to the treachery of any one person."
11. *Collapsa*, &c.—"Had swooned and shortly after died."
12. *Id ipsum*.—"This latter fact" referring to *extincta*.
13. *Quod nondum*, &c.—"Because he was not yet sensible of a calamity chiefly overwhelming his own prospects." If *calamitas* be derived from *calamus* "a reed," as many etymologists maintain, and indicate the prostration of reeds along shore by the sudden rising of the winds and waves, the use of the term *redundantem* is peculiarly appropriate.
14. *Dignus—qui—ferat*.—Much more elegant than *dignus ferendo*, although, in translating, we may say, "Worthy of reaping the fruits of his clemency."
15. *Viderat*.—Did not Curtius write *viscrat*, "He had gone to see"?
16. *Nescio quod*.—Any case of *quis* thus connected with *nescio* may be resolved into the corresponding case of *aliquis*.
17. *Cave—parcas*.—See Harkness' Latin Gram. § 535, 1, 2).
18. *Ludibria meorum*.—"The shameful trifling with the honour of those dear to me." Did not Curtius write *meorum*?
19. *Quantuscumque*, &c.—The order is: *Enim quantuscumque honor potest haberi reginis ab iis, qui parent, [tantus honor] servatus est tuis [fœminis] a victore*.
20. *Ut hanc vicem*.—"That you thus retaliate."
21. *Desiderium captivæ*.—Darius supposes that Alexander felt the loss of Statyra merely as of one who had contributed to the gratification of his lust.
22. *Per Deos* = "For God's sake."

Note

23. *Quæstioni*.—"To torture."
24. *Castè sanctèque*.—This clause depends upon *Testes*, which is here equivalent to *ad testificandum*. *Habitam*, "Treated."
25. *Si de me, &c.*—"If already my fate is determined."

LIB. IV. CAP. XI.

1. *Expressit*.—"Have constrained." The singular verb understood with the first noun, and expressed with the other. This is often the case, where the nouns have a cognate signification.
2. *Pro tribus corporibus*.—"For their three persons."
3. *Triginta millia talentum auri*.—This amount of gold is beyond all belief; and, as Diodorus states the sum at 3,000 talents, *triginta* appears to us to be a corrupt reading. Zumpt adheres to the numbers here given, but supposes they refer to talents of silver paid in gold coin. As to value of talent, see Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i. The amount in our currency of 30,000 talents of gold would be \$316,650,000.
4. *Notam haberem*.—Equivalent to *noverim*. We find also *habeo compertum*, and some other instances where the use of *habeo* is similar to that of our auxiliary verb "to have."
5. *Prægrave imperium*.—"An overgrown empire."
6. *Difficile est continere, &c.*—"It is difficult to retain what you cannot grasp."
7. *Nescio, an Darius, &c.*—"I do not know but that Darius," &c.
8. *Minus jam, &c.*—"That you have now less room for the display of your compassion than you had."
9. *Nunc, Alexander*.—"Now, as Alexander."
10. *Securus* denotes, not safety itself, but only the feeling of security.
11. *Verum enim verò*.—"But now truly."
12. *Modò—modò*.—"At one time—at another."
13. *Post Euphratem*.—That is: To the west of the Euphrates.
14. *Liberaliter*.—Used ironically.
15. *Ubi igitur, &c.*—"Where, I pray you, are you addressing me?" *Igitur* seems here to bear a sense similar to that of *tandem* in asking questions of this nature.
16. *Nempe quam, &c.*—"One, forsooth, who would otherwise marry," &c.
17. *Multum verò*.—"Truly he does me much honour in preferring," &c.

Note

18. *Hoc regente, &c.*—"The war deciding upon the boundaries (fixing the limits) of either kingdom, each one shall," &c.
 19. *Simpliciter.*—"Candidly."

LIB. IV. CAP. XII.

1. *Graviore comitatu* refers to the prisoners, the sick and wounded, and, perhaps, to some of the *heavier baggage*, though that is doubtful, as the word *impedimenta* just below would include it.
2. *Concitis equis.*—Zumpt reads *cum citis equitibus*. There are other *various readings*. We suggest *cum certis equitibus*.
3. *Mille admodum.*—"A thousand in all."
4. *Agmen ejus claudebant.*—"Formed (lit. "closed") the rear of his column."
5. *Pedites his plurium, &c.*—"To these each [commander] had annexed the infantry of several nations, not mingled indiscriminately, but each the forces of his own nation." We are not entirely satisfied with the reading of the text, and yet, perhaps, it is the best that has been suggested. Freinsheim proposes to consider *pedites* in the nominative, and gives this reading and order. "*Pedites plurium gentium his* (prædictis) *junxerant copias, non mixtas, sea quisque suæ nationis, scilicet, copias.*"
6. *Rubri Maris.*—See Note 8, Lib. iii. Cap. ii.
7. *Nomina veriùs quàm auxilia.*—"Auxiliaries in name rather than in reality."
8. *Peregrinum militem.*—viz., The Greek mercenaries.
9. *Armati.*—"Under arms."
10. *Pavor.*—"A panic." The curious student who wishes to know the origin of the word "panic" will find it in Polyænus, or, if more convenient, in the extracts from that author in Græca Majora, (Vol. I., p. 329.)
11. *Flammasque, &c.*—The order is: *Velutque illati* (sc. *Macedones*) *temerè* (unwittingly) *præsidiis credebant flammæ splendere ex castris Darii.*
12. *Tandem compotes sui, &c.*—"At length, having come to their senses, they resumed their arms, and, at the same time, recovered their spirits (courage)."
13. *Ex præsentibus.*—"Under present circumstances."
14. *Speculari.*—"To reconnoitre."
15. *Explicabatur.*—"Was drawn up in battle array."
16. *Caligo.*—"The mist."

Note

17. *Scrâ aestimatione*, &c.—“With too tardy a consideration, he weighed,” &c.
18. *Sive tadio expectationis*.—“Or from very weariness of waiting.”
19. *Cursu*.—Lit. “On a run.”
20. *Vallum*.—“Intrenchments to be thrown up.”

LIB. IV. CAP. XIII.

1. *Tum verò*, &c.—“Then in truth was a full view of the coming contest before his eyes.”
2. *Pleraque inania*.—“Many things trifling in themselves.”
3. *Igitur, sive*, &c.—“Therefore whether at a loss himself, or for the purpose of testing the views of his generals.”
4. *Furto*.—“Stratagem.”
5. *Intempestâ nocte*.—“Late at night.” For the divisions of the night among the Romans, see Adam’s Roman Antiquities.
6. *Namque Parmenionem*, &c.—“For, as he had lately chided Parmenio with more severity than he had intended, he could not bear to find fault with him the second time.”
7. *Latrunculorum*.—“Petty robbers.” A diminutive from *latro*, and used here to express contempt.
8. *Furtum noctis*.—“A nocturnal stratagem.” Alexander, in this speech, implies that the glory of his victories at the Granicus and at Issus had been lessened,—in the former case, by the absence of Darius; in the latter, by the circumstances of the place, which, while favourable to himself, were adverse to the enemy. Now, however, he was determined to contend, in all respects, on equal terms, except in regard to numbers, wherein Darius would have the advantage.
9. *Solem Mithren*.—“*Mithra* or *Mitra*, a deity of Persia, generally supposed to have been the sun.” The word is evidently the same as *Mitra*, one of the names of the sun in Sanscrit. See Anthon’s Classical Diet. *ad verb.*
10. *Siqua divinæ opis auguria*.—“If any tokens of divine aid.”
11. *Deos stare secum*.—“That the gods favoured his cause.” Literally, “stood with him.” We may understand *affirmans*, or a word of similar import, with this and the succeeding clause.
12. *Adhuc lymphatos*, &c.—“That they were still carried and driven about like madmen.”
13. *Ipsum ducem*, sc. *Alexandrum*.

Note

14. *Præibat preces regi.*—That is: Recited a form of prayer, which the king repeated after him.
15. *Demittere—aciem.*—"To charge down."
16. *Agitabat.*—"He was resolving."
17. *An potius, &c.*—"Whether he should not rather hurl down his column upon the left wing of the enemy." Supply *cornu* after *lavum*.
18. *Altior.*—"More profound" than it would have been, had it not been preceded by agitation of mind.
19. *Ipse pronunciat.*—That is: Takes upon himself to announce to the soldiers.
20. *Potens mei non eram.*—"I was not myself." I had no control over my feelings.
21. *Rarò admodum, &c.*—"Very rarely, and then rather at the entreaty of his friends than from fear of any danger that was to be encountered, was he accustomed to make use of defensive armour; at that time, indeed, he put it on and went forth to the soldiers." *Quoque* seems to be used here, as is frequently the case in this author, for *quidem*; or it may indicate that now "also" he was acting on the advice of friends. Understand *eo* with *sumpto*.
22. *Amyntas princeps erat.*—Amyntas was now absent in Macedonia, as we find from Lib. iv. § 26, *ad fin.*: consequently mention is here made of him simply as the commander of this division, not as leading it into battle. See the next two notes.
23. *Regebat eos.*—"Was commanding them," in the absence of Amyntas.
24. *In societatem nuper adscitus.*—"Lately called to this connexion" with the army. We have given this whole passage according to the emendation of Tellier, and as adopted by Zumpt, but are far from being satisfied with it. Freinsheim proposes *Phrygas Balacrus regebat, in soc. nup. adscitos*; though he at the same time observes: "*Omnia hæc sunt obscurissima.*" Perhaps the true reading is: *Filius Balacrus regebat eos, in soc. nup. adscitus*; for we find from Arrian, (Lib. iii. p. 165, Blanc. ed. 1668) that Amyntas had a son Balacrus, and who more likely than he, if in other respects qualified, to command his father's division during his temporary absence?
25. *Ultimum agmen, &c.*—"He had protected his rear by a strong body of troops."
26. *Ultimos ordines avertit, &c.*—"He caused the rear ranks to face outward"; that is, in a direction opposite to that of the front rank, "that he might protect his army from every quarter."

Note

27. *Adeòque aciem*, &c.—“And he disposed his troops with such a reference to their change of front, that those who were posted in the rear could not be surrounded, while yet they could be faced about, and wheeled to the front.” Frontinus, as quoted by Freinsheim, remarks: “Alexander ad Arbela—*aciem* in omnem partem spectantem ordinavit, ut circumventi undique pugnare possent.” Zumpt reads *versabilem*; but we prefer *versatilem*, as it is the epithet applied to the flaming sword of the angel stationed to guard the entrance into Paradise. See Vet. Test. Vulg. (Gen. iii. 24.)
28. *Si nemo*, &c.—“If no one threw himself in the way.”
29. *Nec tamen*, &c.—“And yet so as not to weaken the main body.”
30. *Muriccs*.—“Caltrops.” *Murex* is the name of a shell-fish armed with many sharp points, and is here used to denote an iron instrument with sharp points to injure the feet of men and horses. *Caltrop* originally signifies the “Star thistle,” but is used to denote the same instrument intended by *murex*.

LIB. IV. CAP. XIV.

1. *Præcuntibus*, sc. *Discriminibus*.
2. *Indicium*.—“Indication.” “Evidence.”
3. *Quidquid non*, &c.—“Thus acknowledging that whatever they had not destroyed belonged to the enemy.”
4. *Stare—dimicatuross*.—Let the student observe the force of these two verbs as applied; the former, to the soldiers of Darius,—the latter to those of Alexander.
5. *Usurpare*.—“Made use of.”
6. *Si qui dissimiles*, &c.—“If there were any of a different character, he would make but this remark to them,” &c.
7. *Vanam aciem*, &c.—“Thinking their line had been weakened by extending the wings.”
8. *Terrarum*, &c.—“You who a little while ago were masters of the countries which, &c., have now to fight, &c.” According to the reading in the text *domini* is in the voc. plur., and *vobis* must be understood with *pugnandum*. Freinsheim reads *dominis*, in the dat. plur.
9. *Oceanus*.—Namely: the Indian Ocean.
10. *Quod mearum*, &c.—“As to what has been my share of duty.”
11. *Famam*.—By this word Darius probably means the exaggerated reports of the valour of the Macedonians, which valour, in the next sentence, he denominates *teneritas*.

Note

12. *Emisso aculeo*, &c.—This refers to what is stated by naturalists, that the bee, after having darted forth her sting, perishes, or as some say, becomes torpid. Livy (xxiii. 42) represents the ambassadors of the Hirpini and Samnites as using the same metaphor when addressing Hannibal.
13. *Hinc Euphrates*, &c.—This is one out of many of our author's geographical inconsistencies. He forgets that Arbela was eastward of the Tigris as well as the Euphrates.
14. *Animal*.—"A living creature," "a mortal being." The term is peculiar and striking, and cannot fail to call to mind the epithets given in Scripture to this same conqueror. See Daniel (vii. 6 and viii. 5.)
15. *Cui non subest ratio*.—"Which is not founded on reason."
16. *Tamen ad ultimum*, &c.—"Still, in the long run, it fails to sustain rashness."
17. *Simpliciter*.—That is: Without some sinister design. Horace (Carm. i. 34) thus alludes to the fickle character of Fortune:

— *Hinc apicem rapax*
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

18. *Modò*.—"Lately." He refers to the invasions of Greece by Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes.
19. *Nisi quod*, &c.—"With the exception of what I possess in you, I myself, as regards the greater part of me, am a captive."
20. *Viscera mea*.—"My bowels." The ancients supposed this part of the body to be the seat of the tender emotions, and hence by a figurative use of the term it was made to denote the objects of those emotions.
21. *Precario victu*.—"A life dependent on the favour of another."
22. *Per, ego vos, Deos*, &c.—Some read here *Precor vos per Deos*, but this is more elegant. *Oro*, however, must be understood to govern *vos*. We find similar phraseology in Lib. v. § 24, *sub fin.*, and Lib. ix. § 6, *sub fin.*

LIB. IV. CAP. XV.

1. *Agmen obliquum*, &c.—That is, according to modern military phrase: "He orders the attacking column to move *en échelon*" to the right, for the purposes mentioned.
2. *Summ*, sc. *agmen*.

Note

3. *Non fefellerat, &c.*—"He had not escaped the observation of Parmenio."
4. *Proinde non est, &c.*—"There is, therefore, no reason for withdrawing any force from the line."
5. *Lætique circa Sisygambim.*—Supply *illi* before *circa*, as the subject of *nuntiant*. The phrase seems to be something of a Græcism, like οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα.
6. *Præcoce gaudio, &c.*—"Fearful of provoking fortune by premature joy."
7. *Incertum.*—Supply *est*.
8. *Dolor.*—"Vexation." After *sua* understand *impedimenta*.
9. *Sarissophoros.*—So called from the spear (24 feet long) which they bore. See Potter's *Antiq. of Greece*.
10. *Qui circa, &c.*—"Which had thrown the front ranks into confusion."
11. *Confirmatis animis.*—"With their courage established."
12. *Incurrentium, sc. equorum.—Ilia.*—"Flanks."
13. *Propugnatores præcipitare.*—"To throw their defenders head long."
14. *Paucæ tamen, &c.*—"A few, however, of the four-horse chariots made their way through to the rear ranks."
15. *Et quia calidis, &c.*—"And because no pain attended their wounds while yet warm, though mutilated even and weak, they did not lay aside their arms until they fell prostrate through loss of blood." The armed chariots would, of course, be likely to deprive them of their lower limbs.
16. *Obtriti sunt.*—The use of this verb seems to indicate that the Macedonians were overwhelmed by the numbers, and not by the superior bravery of their adversaries.
17. *Rarior.*—"Less dense."
18. *Dimicantis, sc. Alexandri.*
19. *Ingensque periculum, &c.*—"And being caught in the midst he would have incurred," &c.
20. *Aversosque cadendo, &c.*—"And by charging upon (lit. "slaying") them in the rear, compelled them to wheel about and face themselves (i. e., the Agrians)."
21. *Qui averso, &c.*—"Those who pressed upon his rear."
22. *Maximum tamen, &c.*—That is: After all, the kings themselves were most exposed to danger, for every one sought the honour of having killed a king. Supply *milites* as the subject of *tuebantur*.
23. *Ludibrium oculorum.*—"An optical illusion."

Nota

24. *Lævoque, &c.*—"And, upon the rout of the left wing, had deserted the chariot, which the crowded ranks on the right immediately received into their division."
25. *Sed eminens, &c.*—The order is: *Sed eminens curru crubescibat destituere aciem suorum nondum omnem excedentem prælio.*
26. *Hærebat in tergis, &c.*—"Hung upon the rear of the fugitives."
27. *Subinde cocuntes.*—"Once in a while uniting their forces."

LIB. IV. CAP. XVI.

1. *Longe aliâ, &c.*—"With far different results on both sides."
2. *Janque abundans, &c.*—"And now with overwhelming numbers he had begun to surround that division."
3. *Refrænare equos jussit, &c.*—"He ordered those who were mounted (lit. "were carried") to draw bridle upon their horses (*i. e.*, "to check the pursuit"), and halted the column of infantry." Zumpt's rendering of this passage (in which he reads *jussi*) is, "The horsemen were ordered to take off the bits, that they might give the horses a breath, and then ride off briskly in an opposite direction." He certainly seems to have mistaken the sense of *refrænare*. We give *constitit* a transitive force which we find it having in a similar passage in Sallust (Jugur. 49). Besides as *sisto* is frequently used in a transitive sense, it is probable that its compound *consisto* was used in the same way.
4. *Frendente, &c.*—"Gnashing his teeth with vexation that victory should be snatched," &c.
5. *Nobis quoque.*—"In our behalf too." This is called by some grammarians the dative of reference.
6. *Omnia Persarum.*—Every thing—horses, chariots, standards, as well as men.
7. *Recedebat.*—"Gave way," with their faces towards the enemy.
8. *Spatio.*—"A respite."
9. *Malle se, &c.*—This is one among many instances of the magnanimous disposition of "Darius great and good."
10. *Ingens spatium.*—This shows that the battle was fought at a great distance from Arbela. Some suppose it to have been sixty miles, and the fact that Darius did not arrive there in his hasty flight till midnight justifies the supposition.
11. *Tendebantur extemplo, &c.*—"Their bowels were at once distended by the pressure of the clay."
12. *Ut supra dictum.*—See above, Note 3

Note

13. *Permitteret*.—*Ut* is elegantly omitted before this verb.
14. *Causatus est*.—"Gave as a reason" for not continuing the pursuit.
15. *Quod adhuc in acie, &c.*—"Which, he trusted, still maintained its ground," "still stood in battle array."
16. *Statuit*.—The statement contained in this sentence, in Zumpt's opinion "stands in some measure in contradiction to what was said above; namely, that Alexander's return was called forth only by Parmenio's message. Here he forms the resolution spontaneously." Now we perceive no such contradiction, nor, we think, will a correct understanding of the context justify such a conclusion. Our author states that the king proceeded a considerable distance (*multum via*) in the pursuit, when messengers from Parmenio arrived informing him, that that general was hard pressed on the left wing. Alexander, though sorely vexed (*freudente*) at being compelled to relinquish the pursuit, nevertheless did so, and, as we suppose, just beyond the Lycus and in full view of the fugitives. After mentioning this halt, our author goes back to the events meanwhile (*interim*) transpiring on the left wing, relates the effect of Darius' flight on Mazæus, the defeat of the latter by means of the Thessalian cavalry, and his final retreat to Babylon. He then states that Darius had hastened (*contenderat*) over the Lycus and reached Arbela by midnight. The mention of Darius having carried him a little forward in the order of time, he returns again to take notice of the sad condition of the fugitives, and refers to what had been already mentioned (*ut supra dictum est*), namely, that Alexander, upon hearing of Parmenio's difficulties, had checked the pursuit (*inhibito cursa*); with the additional circumstance that he had arrived (*pervenerat*) at the Lycus on his way back to assist Parmenio. As soon as the soldiers perceived his intention to give up the pursuit, they urged upon him not to let the fugitives escape with impunity. To this he gives the reply, *hebetia tela, &c.*; true as far as it went, but not the whole truth, for the evil tidings from Parmenio he could not, as a wise general communicate to them. Our author then goes on to state, in the passage before us, that the real reason of his resolution to return was his anxiety about the left wing, and this anxiety he might well feel after the message sent him by Parmenio, although at the same time he was trustful (*credebat*) that it yet maintained its ground. We see nothing in the text that necessarily implies that he returned "spontaneously." The want of method in Curtius has been

Note

the subject of remark by many commentators, and to that cause may be assigned many of his, apparently, contradictory statements.

17. *Adiit*.—"Encountered."
18. *Dissimulato magis, &c.*—"Rather feigning ignorance of the danger than despising it."
19. *Dubiis rebus*.—"Dangerous circumstances."
20. *Universæ acies*.—"Whole bodies of regular troops."
21. *Tumultuariæ manus*.—"Bands hastily collected together."
22. *Animo non, &c.*—"He overcame by sheer bravery, not (as before) by the strength of his position."
23. *Magno consilio*.—"With great prudence."
24. *Quod in illo, &c.*—"Which is scarcely credible in the case of one possessed of so much impetuosity of temper."
25. *Jam si*.—"Moreover if."
26. *Ne duces, &c.*—"Nor are the subordinate generals to be robbed of their share of glory."
27. *Qui tunc erant*.—By this clause the author probably hints at the degeneracy of the Macedonians, who in later times had succumbed to the Roman power.

LIB. V. CAP. I.

1. *Ductu imperioque Alexandri*.—The usual signification of *ductu* requires the presence of the person to whom it is applied, and as Alexander could not have been present during the transaction of the things here referred to, many critics think that Curtius wrote *Antipatri*, whom Alexander left as viceroy of Macedonia. See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. iii.
2. *Suis temporibus*.—"In chronological order."
3. *Quas utique, &c.*—The order is: "*Universas quas, utique ad fugam mortemque Darii, dari in conspectu, et ita conjungi ipso opere, sicut coherant inter se tempore, potest videri haud paulò aptius.*" "That the whole of these, at least to, &c., should be presented in one view, and be so connected, &c., may seem, in no small degree, the more proper course." The infinitive clauses form the subject of *potest*.
4. *Saluti fore*.—"Would prove advantageous."
5. *Occuparet sane, &c.*—"Grant that that most covetous nation should seize upon," &c.
6. *Quibus*.—Zumpt, following some MSS. and editions, reads *rebus* after *quibus*. The most obvious sense of the passage would suggest, however, that Curtius may possibly use *quibus* (according to a

Note

Greek idiom called *attraction*) for *iis quos, iis* being governed by *inferiorem*. Instances of this nature are certainly not altogether wanting in Latin authors.

7. *Speciosa dictu*.—"Striking in their announcement"; *usu necessaria*, "practically useful."
8. *Omnia sequi armatos*.—"That all things follow in the train of those well armed."
9. *Euntibus a parte lævâ, &c.*—This is *locus vexatissimus*, and critics have exhausted all their acumen upon it to no purpose. It still remains as unsatisfactory and inexplicable as ever. We have given the reading and punctuation adopted by Zumpt, and we subjoin his note on the passage. "Arabia is here that part of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris, which was occupied by the Arabians. If this district was on the left of the Macedonians, Alexander must have recrossed the Tigris near Arbela, and marched through the middle of Mesopotamia." It is hardly probable that Alexander, in marching from Arbela to Babylon, though he should cross the Tigris, would go so far westward as to leave that part of Mesopotamia, inhabited by the Arabians, on his *left* hand, when his nearest way would be almost due south, inclining very little to the west. (See Butler's Ancient Atlas.) The fact is, probably, that Curtius, as in other instances, is a little out in his geography, on which subject he does not appear "to know his right hand from his left."
10. *Campestre iter*.—"A level route."
11. *Jacentia*, sc. *loca*.
12. *Magno deinde, &c.*—"And then after a wide separation of their streams."
13. *Qui amplissimum, &c.*—"Those who have noted the greatest interval [between them] have made the distance," &c.
14. *Mediæ*.—Another instance of our author's inaccuracy. *Media* was far to the east of both rivers. *Gordianorum*.—This word appears in a great variety of forms in different editions, but the true reading, even if ascertainable, would be of small consequence.
15. *Arctius*, sc. *spatium*.
16. *Quò—hòc*.—Both these words may be translated by the article "the." "*The farther they flow,*" &c.
17. *Idem*.—Freinsheim conjectures *tandem*, which would be more natural and forcible than the present reading.
18. *Ingentis operis*.—See Note 4, Lib. iv. Cap. vi.
19. *Manu promptus*.—"Bold—vigorous in action."

Note

20. *Magi*.—See Note 12, Lib. iii. Cap. iii.
21. *Ad luxuriam, &c.*—"More fitted for luxurious indulgence than mere display."
22. *Cum curru*.—In this expression Curtius undoubtedly has reference to the triumphal entry into Rome of a victorious general.
23. *Ipsius urbis pulchritudo, &c.*—The vastness, beauty, and antiquity of Babylon have long been the theme of admiration; historians and other writers have vied with each other in expatiating on its wonders. For interesting particulars with regard to this famous city, called in Scripture (Isaiah xiii. 19) "*The glory of kingdoms,*" "*The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency,*" we refer the student to Calmet's *Dictionary*, (Charlestown, 1817, V. 226.) and Prideaux's *Connexion* (Harper's ed. I. 119.)
24. *Laterculo coctili*.—"With small bricks burnt or baked in the fire." The Vulgate (Gen. xi. 3.), where the first step toward the founding of Babylon is described, has *Faciamus lateres et coquamus eos igni*.
25. *Commeare*.—"To pass each other." *Con* here gives a reciprocal force to the simple verb.
26. *Centum cubitorum*.—Some editions read L., but as Herodotus goes as high as two hundred, we think the present reading most likely to be the true one.
27. *CCCLXV stadia*.—Equivalent to about 42 of our miles. See table of weights and measures at the end of Anthon's *Clas. Dict.*
28. *Singulorum stadiorum, &c.*—This statement will appear almost incredible when we consider, that, if the walls were only one hundred cubits high (Herodotus makes them two hundred royal cubits, which he says are three digits longer than the common ones), there would have been at least 3055233 yards of solid masonry constructed each day. Diodorus (Lib. ii.) states what is more probable, that Semiramis assigned each stadium to a particular individual, furnishing him at the same time with the means, and requiring the whole work to be done within a year.
29. *Jugeris*.—This is usually a superficial measure, but here it answers to the Greek word *πλερον*, and indicates mere length. As such it is reckoned at 104 feet.
30. *Continuæ*.—"Contiguous."
31. *Crepidinibus*.—"By sides of heavy masonry"
32. *Omnium operum magnitudinem*.—Equivalent to *Omnia magna opera*.
33. *In altitudinem pressæ*.—"Sunk to a great depth."
34. *Jungit urbem*.—"Connects the two parts of the city."

Note

35. *Quo penitus, &c.*—"Which being entirely thrown out for the purpose of laying the foundations."
36. *Fabulis.*—"Tales" or "Stories."
37. *Pilæ.*—These columns were to sustain walls (*parietes*, mentioned below), and across the top of the walls immense flag stones (*lapide quadrato*) were laid, on which the soil was placed.
38. *Syriæ.*—Here used for *Assyriæ*.
39. *Amore conjugis victum.*—It is said that Nebuchadnezzar built the hanging gardens to gratify the taste of his wife, who, being the daughter of Astyages, king of Media, was accustomed to forests and mountains, and consequently pined for similar scenery when removed to the plains of Babylon. See Prideaux (I. 125.)
40. *Effusi sunt.*—"Are given to."
41. *Fœminarum convivia, &c.*—This statement may account in some measure for the conduct of Vashti, who, being a modest woman, did not wish to take part in a feast probably of this description. See O. T. Esther (i. 12.)
42. *Honos auribus habitus sit.*—"Without offence be it said." Digby's translation (Lond. 1747.)
43. *Fuit.*—In the sense of *fuisset*.
44. *Incremento.*—"By reinforcements."
45. *Amyntas Andromenis.*—Supply *filius*.
46. *Vigiliarum vices, &c.*—"Serve their turn as guards."
47. *Incrementa—rudimenta.*—"The seeds and first beginnings."
48. *Ducenos pedes.*—"The infantry two hundred apiece, equal to three months' pay." Zumpt reads this much disputed passage thus: *Ducenos pedes, ceteri stipendium duum mensum.* Waiving other objections, whom, we would ask, after mentioning the cavalry and infantry, does he intend by the word *ceteri*? We have given what seems to us a plain and natural text, and deduced without violence from some of the *various readings*

LIB. V. CAP. II.

1. *Diutius.*—"Longer" than he otherwise would have done.
2. *Namque antea, &c.*—"For formerly the regiments had consisted of five hundred men, and had not yielded rewards of valour." That is: The command of a regiment had not been bestowed as a reward. *Cohortes* is the subject of *cesserant*, and is used in this latter clause, as the word "regiment" with us, to signify "the command of a regiment." In England it is a common form of expression to say

Note

- "Such a one has purchased a regiment," that is, a coloneley or command of a regiment.
3. *Eadem*.—"At once."
 4. *De judicibus*, &c.—"Ready to vote upon the decisions of the judges themselves." That is: Ready to see that the judges decided impartially.
 5. * * * * The name of the eighth Chiliarch has been lost. Some editors read *octo* instead of *novem* in the preceding sentence, but contrary to all the manuscripts.
 6. *Ei adituro* depend on *obviam misit*.
 7. *Non signati*, &c.—"Not coined, but in bullion."
 8. *Donoque doceret dare*.—"And teach them to make presents" of their own handiwork. Zumpt reads *se* before *doceret*, and translates "She should say to them that he (the king) made them a present of it." We much prefer the former rendering.
 9. *Cave* may here be rendered "Do not."
 10. *In contumeliam*.—"As an insult."
 11. *Apud vos*.—"In your country."

LIB. V. CAP. III.

1. *Ejus*, sc. *Sisygambis*.
2. *Navium patiens*.—"Navigable."
3. *Temporum homo*.—"A time server." Many copies read *temporum multorum*. The latter word, however, has been rejected by Modius, Gronovius, &c. Anthon's edition of Riddle and Arnold's English-Latin Dictionary, under the word "time-server," gives *homo multorum temporum*.
4. *Extra teli ictum*.—See Lib. iv. Cap. ii. Note 21.
5. *Anceps*.—"Twofold." That is: From opposite quarters.
6. *Abnuens*.—The remark in Note 23, Lib. iv. Cap. i. will apply to this word.
7. *Si minùs*.—"If not them." That is: If he could not pardon them, at least to pardon her for asking.
8. *Quæ tunc fuit*.—*Moderationem* and *clementiam*, being nouns of kindred meaning, will allow a relative and verb after them in the singular.
9. *A victore Dario*.—That is: Had he been victorious instead of Alexander.
10. *Contribuit*.—"He attached."
11. *De industria*.—"Purposely." An idiomatic phrase.
12. *Montium prona*.—"The declivities of the mountains."

Note

13. *Agmina*.—"Whole companies."
14. *Ea ipsa*, sc. *saxa*.
15. *Nec stare ergò nec niti*.—That is: They could not stand where they were, nor were they able to climb higher.
16. *Mari*.—That is: By the sea-shore. This march was probably related in the second book.
17. *Hæsitabat*, &c.—"His good fortune, taken by surprise, seemed to be at a stand."
18. *Quâ*.—Supply *eâdem viâ* before this word.

LIB. V. CAP. IV.

1. *Sed quid tunc*, &c.—"But what advice could Aristander then give?" *Prædicere* does not here convey any idea of *fortelling*, but simply of *saying* something *apposite* to the occasion. Leverett furnishes instances from Cicero and Nepos of a similar use of the word.
2. *Implexosque arborum*, &c.—"And that the interwoven branches of the trees formed one continued forest." Lit. "United the woods."
3. *Quod in longitudinem*, &c.—What is the antecedent to the relative *quod*? *Latere* is the only word in the sentence of the same gender and number, but that cannot be referred to, for though we can very well understand the length of a side, yet surely the word *latitudinem* would not apply to it. We conclude therefore that the figures apply to the range of mountains and that *quod* refers to the sense, though not to the grammatical construction, of *perpetuis jugis*, which form a *dorsum*, the word used in the next sentence.
4. *Rubrum Mare*.—See Note 8, Lib. iii. Cap. ii.
5. *Quâque deficit*, &c.—"And where the mountain fails, another barrier, the sea, is thrown in the way."
6. *Procumbit*.—"Lies spread out."
7. *Minor amnis eo quem accepit*.—This remark will apply to the Mississippi, which is smaller than the Missouri, that flows into it.
8. *Ita ut procul*, &c.—The order is: *Ita ut nemora riparum videantur visentibus procul* [*esse*] *continuata montibus*.
9. *Non alia*.—See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
10. *Igitur promissis*, &c.—The order is: *Igitur jubet* [*cum*] *oneratum promissis quanta et præsens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna capiebat, armari more Macedonum et (quod bene verteret) monstrare iter; [affirmans] se (Alexandrum) evasurum esse cum paucis, quamvis [iter esset] arduum et præceps*, &c. *Ipsius fortuna capiebat*, that is: Suit-

Note

able to his circumstances. *Quod bene verteret.* The usual form of wishing success to an undertaking. It may sometimes be rendered, "In the name of God."

11. *Cratæro*.—The student will observe that this word is not in the ablative absolute with *relicto*, but in the dative and governed by *præcipit*.
12. *Eum*, sc. *Alexandrum*.—Curtius frequently uses this pronoun where *se* would seem more proper. Some copies omit *eum*.
13. *Illato terrore*.—"By arousing his fears" from that quarter. More literally, "By striking terror into him."
14. *Persequentium Regem*.—These words are rejected by many, and yet we cannot perceive how the sense would be clear without them. Alexander justly supposed that the barbarians, as soon as they discovered that he had eluded their vigilance, and by means of the Lycian guide had made his way through the defiles, would pursue him with haste and tumult, and, accordingly, he ordered Craterus, as soon as he heard them *pursuing the king*, to enter the narrow pass in which he had been foiled the preceding day, as the ardour of the barbarians in pursuing the king would lead them to neglect it.
15. *Metum*.—We have placed a comma after this word, considering that the infinitive *posse* is to be referred to it. "Increased the apprehension that, if, &c. they might be," &c.
16. *Eques*.—Our author must surely have exaggerated the difficulties of the road in the previous description, when here we find that horses had passed over it, though termed *invium* even for foot passengers.
17. *Sceundâ vigiliâ*.—The ancients divided the time from sunset to sunrise into four watches of three hours each, the length of the hours, of course, varying according to the season of the year. The time here mentioned would be about nine o'clock in the evening, so that the troops had eight or nine hours for rest and refreshment.
18. *Ingens vorago*.—"A great chasm."
19. *Internitcans*.—Observe the force of *inter*.
20. *Evadunt ergo*.—It is stated by some writers that Alexander erected an arch on this spot, with an inscription pointing out the true path through the defiles.

LIB. V. CAP. V.

1. *Fossæ*.—It does not appear clearly whether these ditches were natural or artificial. The etymology of the word and the term *objectæ*, applied to it, would indicate the latter character.

Notes

2. *Indicantes*.—"Intimating."
3. *Expeditum*.—"Free from obstacles." Freinsheim considers this inconsistent with what our author mentions in the next sentence, namely, that the Araxes (a broad stream, and which could only be crossed by boats or bridges) was to be passed, and accordingly proposes to read *quàm quà* instead of *quamquam*. We think the change unnecessary, the latter word being here employed, as it often is, to modify the foregoing statement. It may be rendered, "Though, to be sure."
4. *Inter pauca*.—Equivalent to *in paucis*, elsewhere used. See Note 11, Lib. iii. Cap. xi.
5. *Intuentibus*.—Dative after *liquere*, and itself governing *pœnas*.
6. *Similes—disparēs*.—"Alike in severity—different in circumstances."
7. *Omnes*, sc. *circumstantes*.—"All the by-standers."
8. *Nos*.—We retain this pronoun as used emphatically. Some copies read *Hi*, others *Il*.
9. *Familiaris*.—"Friendly."
10. *Quàm celeriter*, &c.—This is (to use the words of Theætetus a little below) *tristis de mortalitate sententia*, "A sad reflection upon humanity."
11. *Nisi*, &c.—We strongly suspect that Curtius wrote *nos* before *nisi*. The emphatic application of what Euthymon had said above (*Nemo fideliter*, &c.) to their own sad case seems to require its presence.
12. *Grati prorsus*, &c.—Said ironically.
13. *Detrimenta*.—"Scrappings."
14. *Quota pars nostri*.—"How small a part of us."
15. *Pium*.—This word and its derivatives are probably applied by Latin writers more frequently to the sentiments entertained towards men than to those towards the gods. They are used to designate the affection existing between relatives and friends when carried to a self-denying extent. Hence Æneas seems to have acquired the epithet of *pious*, in Virgil, for saving the life of his aged father at the risk of his own.
16. *Vitâ—morte*.—Ablatives of price.
17. *Quin* appears to be here used elliptically. The ellipsis may be thus supplied, *Quid obstat quin*, &c.
18. *Ingenita*.—"Their birthright."
19. *Relinquerent*.—"They certainly might leave [this place, their Persian attachments] to whom nothing," &c. Digby gives a dif-

Note

ferent turn to the passage, and we do not know but that the original will allow it. "They ought to be no hindrance to those to whom," &c. He makes the subject of *relinquerent* to be the same as those intended by *si quos*, and understands *eos* before *qui*. *Relinquere* is sometimes used in the sense "to let alone," and that is probably the sense Digby attached to it here.

20. *Consuetudo*.—"Long usage."
21. *Præstabo*.—"I will warrant"—"will pledge myself."
22. *Si hæc, &c.*—"Apart from these sad mutilations." See Note 13, Lib. iv. Cap. x.
23. *Pœnitentiæ*.—"Change of mind." The king was under the impression that they were, at the beginning, anxious to return to Greece.

LIB. V. CAP. VI.

1. *Infusa*, sc. *In Græciam*.
2. *Vicere præterita*.—"Surpassed all that preceded."
3. *Occupaverant*.—This verb almost in every instance indicates "a taking possession in advance of" the efforts of another.
4. *Et cùm, &c.*—The sense of the passage is this: When they were unable to keep all they got on account of the great quantity of plunder, things were no longer seized at once, but the comparative value of every thing was critically estimated, so that they might burden themselves with only the most valuable articles.
5. *Passimque obvii, &c.*—"And every where as they were met with they were put to death, whom, before [the discovery of such immense treasures] their own value (as slaves) had rendered objects of [apparent] compassion."
6. *Quod*.—This relative refers to *ignes subjecerant ædibus* and is governed by *facturus*.
7. *Suis*, sc. *militibus*.
8. *C et XX millia talentum—scx millia talentum*.—The sum total will be \$1,330,011,180, or 133,004,340 according to the talent by which we estimate. See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i.
9. *Vergiliarum*.—These are generally called the Pleiades. Critics are not agreed among themselves whether the rising or setting of these stars is meant. Probably our author had no special reference to either of these phenomena, but simply to that season of the year when they are visible in the early evening, and that would, of course, be winter.

Note

10. *Quas frigoris, &c.*—"Which the extremity of cold had encrusted with ice."
11. *Inviæ*.—This word does not strictly signify "impassable" in this and similar passages, but only implies the greatest degree of difficulty in transit. It is used with an obvious qualification like a kindred word in the famous line of the English poet,
- Of mountains *inaccessible*, by shepherds trod.
12. *Antequam lux quoque, &c.*—A striking instance of the ignorance of the times.
13. *Supersedit*.—"Forbore."
14. *Interfectis, sc. iis.*
15. *Ne fæminis quidem, &c.*—"Not even do the women, considering their natural characteristics, possess more delicate qualities."

LIB. V. CAP. VII.

1. *Moliendis efficiendis que*.—"Undertaking and completing."
2. *Hoste et æmulo*.—"While his enemy and rival for the kingdom [of Persia] was renewing the war with the greatest efforts."
3. *De die*.—That is: Before the day closed. Mark the "customary action" denoted by the imperfect *inibat*.
4. *Pellices*.—Supply *erant* after this word.
5. *Thais*.—Dryden has immortalized this courtesan in the following lines. (*Alexander's Feast*):

"The lovely Thais by his side,
Sate, like a blooming Eastern bride
In flower of youth and beauty's pride."

* * * * *

"And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy,
Thais led the way
To light him to his prey
And like another Helen fired another Troy."

6. *Avidior quàm patientior*.—That is: The king not only endured the disgraceful proposal, but went further than that,—he was even anxious to engage in carrying it out.
7. *Quin*.—Why not. But see Note 17, Cap. v. of this book.
8. *Tendebat, sc. Tentoria*.—"Were encamped."
9. *Contabulato*.—"Floored over." This passage obviously refers to the gigantic undertakings of Xerxes in the invasion of Greece.

Note

10. *Hujus vestigium non.*—"Not a vestige of this."
11. *Itaque res in serium, &c.*—"Accordingly the matter took a serious turn, and they forced themselves into the belief that," &c.
12. *Majores pœnas, &c.*—That is: The Persians would have suffered a severer infliction, if, instead of the burning of their chief city, they had beheld Alexander permanently seated in the palace and on the throne of Xerxes.

LIB. V. CAP. VIII.

1. *Ille, sc. Darius.*
2. *Celeritate*, and just below, *velocitatem*. The frequent application of such terms as these to the career of Alexander cannot fail to remind the reader of what was predicted of him, in this respect, by Daniel (Chap. viii. 5, 6.)
3. *Qualemcumque vitam.*—"Any kind of life."
4. *Quàm frustrâ, &c.*—"Than waste words upon you."
5. *Experto, sc. mihi.*
6. *Ut jam malit.*—"Provided he would now prefer."
7. *Hoc decus, viz.*—The Cydaris or Tiara.
8. *Possit.*—"May have it in his power."
9. *Animus.*—"The spirit" or "disposition." *Lex.*—"The rule of conduct."
10. *Nec immeritò.*—"And not without good reason."

LIB. V. CAP. IX.

1. *Sape diximus.*—Probably in the two books that are lost.
2. *Nabarzanes*, though in the sing. num. yet being connected by intervening clauses with Bessus, is followed by the plural verb *deceverant*.
3. *Eâ mente.*—"With the intention."
4. *Magni.*—The genitive of value. *Æstimaturi* is to be referred to *victoris*.
5. *Aditum nefariæ, &c.*—"Preparing the way for the fulfilment of his nefarious expectations."
6. *Auspicium.*—"The chief command." *Imperium.*—"The imperial authority."
7. *Deinde.*—"Thereupon."
8. *Moles.*—"Resources"—such as a mass of materials affords.
9. *Ad vililitatem sui.*—Literally, "To a cheapening of themselves." That is: To put a low estimate on their lives.

Note

10. *Temporis gratia*.—"To meet the present exigency."
11. *Iusto regi*.—"The rightful sovereign."
12. *Fiduciarium*.—"Which he had held in trust."
13. *Quanquam tam, &c.*—"Although the full extent of crime concealed under such an impious speech was unknown to him." The student will note the force of *sub* in *subesset*.
14. *Pessimum—mancipium*.—"Thou vilest of slaves."
15. *Ni propere Bessus, &c.*—"Unless with all speed Bessus and the Bactrians, under pretence of being indignant [at the conduct of Nabarzanes], but [in reality] intending if he (Darius) persevered in his purpose, to bind him, had interposed." Lit. "Had stood round." *Tristis* is used in the sense of "angry" by Virgil (*Æneid*. x. 612) and Propertius (i. 6, 10.)
16. *Temporum, &c.*—"Occasionally reminding him of existing circumstances."
17. *Gravem etiam si, &c.*—"A formidable enemy even if all his (Darius') friends should be at hand to help him."
18. *Ægre*.—"Reluctantly."
19. *Patron*.—Arrian calls him *Paron*. He seems to have been a man of fine character.
20. *Ut cibum, &c.*—"That he would partake of food, and assume the spirit expected of a king." We prefer the reading given in the text as consonant with a similar use of the word *capio* (Lib. iv. Cap. i. § 4) *Cape regis animum*. See also Note 12, Lib. iv. Cap. xii. The other readings are: *Animumque regis adverteret* and *aververet*. *Animumque curis regni adverteret*. *Animumque rebus adverteret*. This last is adopted by Zumpt.

LIB. V. CAP. IX.

1. *Eximia*.—"Highly esteemed."
2. *Regionis*.—Zumpt reads *regis* here; but as the arguments for the present reading are very strong we have concluded to retain it.
3. *Occisuri—petituri*.—We should certainly expect to find these words in the dative after *placuit*. As they stand we may supply *essent* with them.
4. *Consternationem*.—"Their mutinous conduct." The word is used in this sense by Tacitus and Livy, as well as repeatedly by our author. See Lib. vii. Cap. ii. § 7, Lib. viii. Cap. i. § 3. (where it is used synonymously with *seditio*), and Lib. x. Cap. ii. § 7.
5. *Solicitent*.—"To tamper with."

Noto

6. *Titulum solemnīs, &c.*—"Manifesting a show of formal duty to cover up a base crime."
7. *Sustinēre.*—"Had the effrontery."
8. *Precēs.*—Petitions.
9. *Securus periculi, &c.*—"Undisturbed by any fear of the danger that was at hand."

LIB. V. CAP. XI.

1. *Occasioni immincens, &c.*—"On the lookout for an opportunity of addressing him."
2. *Sapiūs sermone revocato.*—"Very often cheeking his utterance, while hesitating between what his fidelity to the king on the one hand, and his fear of giving offence (either to the king or to Bessus) on the other, suggested, he kept his eyes fixed on him." Of the other reading, *sermone revocatus*, Freinsheim says: "Nescio quid sibi velint alii; at *revocato sermone* est, cū, sæpe dicturus, toties se *repressisset*, vocemque, jam prodire volentem quasi reprehendisset."
3. *Præstare.*—"Perform the duty better."
4. *Interpretis Græci, &c.*—This relates to the conversation that took place between Patron and the eunuch in relation to the admission of the former to an interview with the king.
5. *In ultimo discrimine, &c.*—"You are in a very critical situation, both as to fortune and life." *Fortunæ* here means his condition in life as a prince.
6. *Tulerat.*—We have here an instance of the use of the indicative for the subjunctive. Numerous examples are to be found in the classics. It is common in our own language; a striking instance occurring in our version of the Psalms (cxxiv. 3, 4, 5.)
7. *Eludant licet, &c.*—"Let those indulge in ridicule, who are persuaded that human affairs are set in motion and urged forward by blind chance." Livy (vi. 41) represents Appius as employing the phrase *eludant licet*, and as Curtius is known to have imitated Livy, and, moreover, in this very passage makes use of *forte temerè*, a favourite expression of his, we prefer it to *eludant videlicet*, the reading adopted by Zumpt.
8. *Equidem æternā, &c.*—"For my part, I would rather believe that according to an eternal constitution of things, and by a chain of hidden causes long before appointed, each individual, by an immutable law, fills up his allotted station." Note the force of the sub-

Note

junctive in *crediderim*. *Æternâ* seems here to be used in its most extensive signification.

LIB. V. CAP. XII.

1. *Impetum*.—"Hasty resolution." See Leverett's Lexicon.
2. *Perfidi hominis*, sc. *Patronis*. *Vitâsset*, sc. *Darius*. *Eum*, sc. *Patronem*. *Hosti*, sc. *Alexandro*.
3. *Sine larc*.—"Without family ties."
4. *Ancipitem hostem*.—That is: One who would fight on either side, according to his interests.
5. *Ad nutum licentium*.—"At the nod of the bidders." The language is figurative, and refers to the practice of auctioneers, who turn from one bidder to another, according as each rises higher in his offer.
6. *Eò rerum ventum erat*.—"Matters had come to such a pass."
7. *Credidisset*, sc. *Darius*.
8. *Excusationem*.—"Palliation."
9. *Acriorem*, &c.—"A more energetic protector and avenger."
10. *Armati stabant*.—"Stood to their arms."
11. *Artabazus*.—This word may be the subject of the historical infinitive *dubitare*, or of *respondit*, supplied in brackets between *Græcorum* and *Persas*. We much prefer the latter construction, as that frequently used by Curtius. See Lib. iv. § 22; vi. § 4; viii. § 42.
12. *Destinatus sorti suæ*.—Curtius here employs language in conformity with what he had said above. See Note 8 of preceding chapter.
13. *Profususque*.—We adopt this reading from Rutgers, instead of the common *perfususque*.
14. *Vel periculo vitæ*.—"Even at the risk of life."
15. *Impiè*.—See Note 15, Cap. v. of this book.
16. *Quia*.—"Inasmuch."
17. *A suis*, sc. *subjectis*.
18. *Nullâ externâ*, &c.—"No foreign power being employed" against him, or, in this transaction.

LIB. V. CAP. XIII.

1. *Audito* forms the ablative absolute with the remainder of the clause. See a similar instance in Cæsar (De Bell. Gall. vii. 52.)
2. *Ex hoc acta cognoscit*.—"From him he learns what had taken place."

Note

3. *Dorso*.—*Dorsum* is not often applied to the human back. There are, however, instances in Horace and Pliny.
4. *Ut primi*, &c.—“That the van might keep closely united with the rear”
5. *Strenuo alioqui*, &c.—The order is: *Transfuga injecerat* [*Alexandro*] *alioqui strenuo cupiditatem consequendi*.
6. *Abeuntium*.—“Fugitives.”
7. *Fidem*.—“The protection.”
8. *Adeò omnem*, &c.—“Terrified as they were, fortune had deprived them (lit. “shaken them out”) of their senses to such a degree that they,” &c.
9. *Semivivi*.—The remainder of this book, as written by Curtius, has been lost. The supplement, furnished by Freinsheim, we have annexed in small type, in order to preserve the thread of the story.

LIB. VI. CAP. I.

1. *Pugnæ*.—The former part of this chapter, as it came from the hand of Curtius, having been lost, we have prefixed the supplement of Cellarius as more brief than that of Freinsheim.
2. *Immisit*.—Supply *Agis* and *se* from the preceding supplement as the subject and object of this verb.
3. *Corpore*.—“By a sudden motion of his body.”
4. *Æquiores*.—“More favourable.”
5. *Non aliud*.—See Note 1, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
6. *Hæserat*.—“Had been confined.” Lit. “had stuck.”
7. *Poplitibus*.—This word indicates the back part of the knees, as *genua* does the front. The distinction is clearly seen in the following passage from Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxviii. 17,) *Item poplites alternis genibus imponi*.
8. *Ultrò*.—“Spontaneously.”
9. *Excepit*.—“He supported.” We may suppose his shield to have been placed upright on its circumference, and thus, for a while, being on his knees, he leaned his head upon it, when, at length, his strength failing him, through loss of blood, he fell forward with and upon his shield, and upon any other part of his armour that was in front.
10. *Dissentire ab animis*.—“Did not agree with their real feelings.” The sense of this passage (which some have thought incomplete) appears to be this: Antipater, though a conqueror, was yet fearful that his victory would cost him too much if it procured for him the

Note

jealousy of his colleagues in command and the envy of Alexander; but as he was desirous of bringing the war to a close (which he could not do if he fell out with his generals), it was necessary for him to receive the outward congratulations of his officers as though they were sincere, and thus appear to be deceived. The literal rendering of the words is as follows: "Nor did it escape the observation of Antipater, that the countenances of those who congratulated him did not agree with their real feelings, but to him desirous of finishing the war, there was a necessity that he should [appear to] be deceived; and although the result of the action (for this meaning of *rerum* see Leverett) was pleasing to him, still he was fearful of the envy [of Alexander] because his exploits were greater than what the measure of a viceroy would admit of"; *that is*, he had performed greater deeds than usually fell to the lot of an inferior officer.

11. *Ne tacitus quidem*, &c.—"He openly expressed his vexation."
12. *Agere arbitria*.—"To determine upon the results."
13. *A quo Lacedæmoniorum*, &c.—This passage has proved a perfect *crux criticorum*. We give the reading adopted by Zumpt, with slight changes.

LIB. VI. CAP. II.

1. *Insana dulcedo*.—"The senseless enjoyment."
2. *Omnia in se*.—"Every thing had glided into [an aping of] foreign [Persian] manners, and, choosing these for a pattern as more excellent than those of his own people, he," &c.
3. *Defungi*.—"To partake of." The word implies that they considered eating a duty to be performed for the sustenance of life, and not to be engaged in for the mere gratification of the palate.
4. *Liberior—dolor*.—"A more free expression of the pain they felt."
5. *Peregrinis* here refers to the Macedonians.
6. *Secrevit*, sc. *cos*.
7. *Graves adhuc accolæ*.—"Formidable neighbours hitherto."
8. *Rectâ plagâ*.—"A straight tract of country."
9. *Ultima*, sc. *loca*.
10. *Offerre—poscere—polliceri*.—Historical infinitives, to be translated as imp. ind. act.
11. *Voluisset*, sc. *Alexander*.
12. *Haurire*.—"To imbibe."
13. *In rem*.—"Suitable to his purpose."

LIB. VI. CAP. III.

Note

1. *Ductu meo*.—These words refer to what was done where Alexander commanded in person,—*imperio auspicioque*, to what was done by his authority. See Note 1, Lib. v. Cap. i.
2. *Quædam*.—"Some things." The acc. with the dat. *mihi* after the verb *subduxerit*.
3. *Ut ibi potissimum*.—"That there of all places."
4. *Adhuc jugum, &c.*—The order is: *Barbaris adhuc subeuntibus jugum ejus [imperii] rigidâ cervice, opus est tempore, milites, dum, &c.*
5. *Potest, sc. mitigare*.
6. *Minatur, sc. nos*.
7. *Sui juris, sc. "Their own masters."*
8. *Simul*.—Equivalent to *simul ac*.
9. *Ne vos, &c.*—There is an ellipsis between this and the preceding clause, which may be thus supplied,—"*which I mention*, that you may not think," &c.
10. *Ultimum*.—This word signifies "the furthest removed" from good or bad, according to the connection in which it stands.
11. *Externæ opis egentem*.—"Deprived of foreign aid," namely, that of Patron and the Greeks. It has occurred to us that possibly Curtius, by these words, intended to convey the idea expressed, Lib. v. Cap. xii. § 33, (*nullâ externa ope admotâ*), and accordingly to mean "that Bessus held in captivity and finally put to death his own king, who, in this way, did not need foreigners to accomplish his ruin"; that is, "was put to death by treacherous subjects." Such a construction seems harsh at first view, and yet it is in some degree justified by the following clause, *certè cui nos, &c.* Some refer *externæ opis* to "the aid" he needed, and obtained from Polystratus, as mentioned in the supplement to the fifth book.
12. *Egregium mehercule, &c.*—The order is: *Mehercule tradetis posteritati famæque opus egregium et numerandum inter prima vestræ gloriæ; vos ultos esse parricidas Darii quoque hostis, odio finito post ejus mortem, [et] neminem impium effugisse vestras manus.*

LIB. VI. CAP. IV.

1. *Adeunt, sc. homines*.
2. *Universus*.—"Entire." "Undivided."
3. *Velut dispensatis, &c.*—"As if by an equal distribution of its waters."

Note

4. *Inde torrens*, &c.—The author here describes the course of one branch, bearing the original name, *Zioberis*, which, he says, further on unites with the other called *Rhidago*. The course of the latter, previous to the junction, he does not describe.
5. *Tauros*.—Zumpt, in conformity with some copies, leaves this word out, and supposes that Alexander made use of criminals for his experiment,—a course as unnecessary as cruel.
6. *Quorum corpora*, &c.—The order is: *Quorum corpora* [ii], *qui missi erant ut exciperent* [ca], *videre expulsa*, *ubi* [annis] *rursus crumpit*.
7. *Agitasse Darium*, &c.—“That Darius had had it in contemplation to,” &c.
8. *Ad ultima*, &c.—“That he had been urged forward to extremities, and that he pursued rather those measures which necessity demanded, than what he himself would have preferred.”
9. *Subinde*.—“Every now and then.”
10. *Duo terræ*.—“Two points of land.”
11. *Media*, *se. loca*.—“The intermediate space by a gentle curve forms a bay.”
12. *Et illos*, &c.—The order is: *Et* [pars vallis], *quæ vergit ad Septentrionem*, *prospectat illos*, [pars] *conversa ad Occasum* [prospectat] *hos*.
13. *Et magnâ parte*, &c.—“And ebbing out again in a great measure it leaves stagnant pools.”
14. *Cujus fastigium*, &c.—“Whose elevated ridges, as we have already said, gradually fall into a continuous valley.”
15. *Occupaverint*.—“Shall have anticipated.”

LIB. VI. CAP. V.

1. *Et hospitii*, &c.—The order is: *Et fides in regem, conservata ad ultimum, vincebat pignora hospitii*.
2. *In supplementum*.—“To fill up the ranks.”
3. *Adhuc* refers to *teneros*, not to *flectunt*.
4. *Quâ natura fert*.—“According to their natural tendency.”
5. *Qui*.—*Alium alii* together form the antecedent to this relative.
6. *Namque ille*, *se. equus*.
7. *Desperato*.—This participle with the rest of the clause forms an ablative absolute. See Note 1, Lib. v. Cap. xiii.
8. *Ad pectus*.—“To the chest.”
9. *Habitu ejus*, &c.—“Closely surveying his personal appearance

Note

which by no means corresponded with his exploits." See Note 14, Lib. iii. Cap. xii. and Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.

10. *Sexūs*.—The genitive of the qualifying noun. See Harkness' Latin Grammar, § 396, IV., and Adams' Lat. Gram. Rule vii.
11. *Retenturam*.—Supply *prolem* as the object of the participle.
12. *Irritam spei*.—"Disappointed in her expectations."

LIB. VI. CAP. VI.

1. *Cupiditates suas solvit*.—"He gave loose to his passions."
2. *In altissimā quāque fortunā*.—"In every condition of life, even the most exalted."
3. *Civilem habitum* here seems to mean "the mode of life adopted by his countrymen."
4. *Servilibus ministeriis, &c.*—"To initiate the conquerors of so many nations into servile ministrations, and to place them on a par with captives."
5. *Ut appareret, &c.*—"Whence it would appear that the mind of one monarch is not capacious enough for the fortune of two."
6. *Tum*.—"At such a time." That is: Upon the occasion of a victory.
7. *Tantæ moræ pretium*.—"As a remuneration for their long absence." More literally, "for their long delay in returning."
8. *Quæ ut intacta*.—Why not, *quæ* (sc. *domini*), *ut intactas* (sc. *sarcinas*)?
9. *Sanguinis pretium*.—Referring to the wounds received in battle.
10. *Habilesque militiae*.—Namely, by the removal of useless incumbences.
11. *Igitur*.—"Accordingly."
12. *Subsistere*.—"To halt."
13. *Præverti*.—"To turn out of his course first."
14. *Longius*.—"Too far."
15. *Ac primò, &c.*—That is: He required every possible mode of access to be thoroughly cleared out. *Re* in composition not unfrequently denotes "thoroughness."
16. *Animi*.—The genitive of qualification. See Note 10 of preceding chapter.
17. *Igni dari alimenta*.—"Material to be supplied for the fire" that was about to be kindled. That it was not yet kindled is evident from the clause *Tunc undique, &c.*
18. *Ultimum*.—See Note 10, Lib. vi. Cap. iii.

Note

19. *Si quâ intermorceretur ignis*.—If any where the fire went out. Literally, "Died out at intervals" of space.
20. *Captæ urbis titulo*, &c.—"Yielding as was proper to his claim of having taken the city." See a similar instance of royal and military etiquette in O. T. (II. Sam. xii. 27.)
21. *Supinas manus*.—That is: With their hands thrown up with the palms open towards the enemy, showing them to be unarmed.
22. *Scelcris—particeps Besso*.—*Particeps*, like *consciûs*, is construed with a genitive and dative. See Harkness' Latin Grammar, § 399, 6, and Bullion's Lat. Gram. Rule xvi. Obs. 5.

LIB. VI. CAP. VII.

1. *Auctoritatis et gratiæ*.—See Note 11, Cap. v. of this book.
2. *Ille*, sc. *Nicomachus*.—*Indicaturum*, sc. *Dynnum*.
3. *Quod etiam*, &c.—"Which he would be required to disclose even at the cost of perjury."
4. *Participem*.—See last note of preceding chapter.
5. *Constanter*.—"With firmness."
6. *Ab illo capite*.—He must be supposed here to point to the head of Nicomachus.
7. *Aliàs—aliûs*.—"At one time—at another."
8. *Quoque* is often used by our author in the sense of *etiam*.
9. *Versabat*.—"Tried every means to move." See Leverett.
10. *Tanto facinoræ*.—Singular fastidiousness on the part of one who had spent his life in the commission of the most detestable crimes! But such were the perverted ideas of right and wrong among heathen nations.
11. *Expressit ut tandem*, &c.—"He extorted from him at length a promise not only of silence but even of coöperation." *Expressit*.—Literally, "He squeezed out."
12. *Fortissimus juvenum*.—Said by way of flattery.
13. *Placæ*, sc. *utrique*.—*Ipsûm*, sc. *Nicomachum*.
14. *Amicorum*.—This word is merely the translation of the Greek word *ἐταῖροι*, the name of a chosen body of cavalry in the Macedonian army, the first cohort of which was charged with the care of the king's person. Williams in his Life of Alexander always terms them *The Companion Cavalry*.
15. *Incertum*, sc. *est*.
16. *Forcet* for *fuisset*.—See instances in Ovid (Epist. vi. 144; Amor. ii. 12, 17; Metam. xii. 8.)

Note

17. *An institisset, &c.*—"Whether he had urged him (Philotas) to come to him (Alexander)" to divulge the conspiracy.
18. *Quo propiore—hoc majus.*—"The more intimate—the greater."

LIB. VI. CAP. VIII.

1. *In paucis.*—See Note 9, Lib. iv. Cap. viii.
2. *Contumacia.*—"Arrogance." From *con* and *tumco*, "to swell up."
3. *Odio suo, &c.*—"Concealing his hatred (of Philotas) under a pretext of reverential affection for the king." The literal meaning of *Præferens* is "Carrying in front or before," hence "Carrying one thing in front of another so as to conceal it." As to *pietatis*, see Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v.
4. *Quoque.*—See Note 8 of preceding chapter.
5. *Nec est quòd existimes.*—"Nor have you reason to suppose."
6. *Misericordiam, &c.*—"Have exhausted the streams of mercy."
7. *Inveteratâ.*—"Strengthened by time."
8. *Pudet, sc. quemlibet.*
9. *Suppressurus, sc. Philotas.*
10. *Quem enim, &c.*—This infinitive clause depends on *aciebant*, or a word of similar import, understood.
11. *Ne Cebalini quidem, &c.*—We prefer giving this passage an affirmative character and not an interrogative one as in most editions. We supply *egisse* and give the following order: *Filium Parmenionis, præfectum equitatus, arbitrum omnium arcanorum regis, ne [egisse] quidem exemplo Cebalini, qui nunciasset ipsi [regi ea] comperta ex fratre; simulâsse etiam Regem, &c.*
12. *Conscientiam suam exonerare.*—"To unburden his conscience." The word *exonerare* is usually applied to the *unlading* of ships and to the *emptying* of rivers into the ocean.
13. *At enim, &c.*—These words always imply an ellipsis, which in this case may be thus supplied: "But *Philotas* says that he ought to be excused for he did not give credit, &c."
14. *Extraxisset.*—"We may supply *eos* (sc. *pueros*) as the object of this verb and translate; "Why then should he have put *them* off for two days?" Or we may consider *biduum* the direct object and give this rendering: "Why then should he have frittered away *two days*?" See Leverett for this latter meaning of *Extraho*.
15. *Amicis.*—See Note 14 of preceding chapter.
16. *Adhuc* is to be applied to *torpentem*.

Note

17. *De capitalibus, &c.*—This applies to a time of war as the next clause shows.
18. *Erat vulgi.*—Supply *inquirere de capitalibus rebus.*
19. *Auctoritas, sc. populi.*—The meaning is: The royal prerogative is powerless unless backed by the *expressed will of the people.*

LIB. VI. CAP. IX.

1. *Providentiâ et misericordiâ.*—"By the merciful providence."
2. *Venerabilis* is here used in an active sense: "Your reverential aspect." See a similar instance Val. Max. (II. iv. 4.)
3. *Autem* may here be rendered by "I ask," "Tell me," or some similar phrase.
4. *Illâ atate.*—At that age you know him to have attained; that is: "At his advanced age." The same phrase is employed (Lib. iv. Cap. v. *init.*) to denote youth.
5. *Querentium.*—"Complaining." Curtius may have written *querentium*, "Making inquiries;" for we find above that a great part of the assembly were ignorant of what had been done, and it was natural for them when the king paused to put questions to each other with regard to the details of the conspiracy, the mere outlines of which he had disclosed.
6. *Exonerare.*—See Note 12 of preceding chapter.
7. *Iste, si Regis, &c.*—This is a passage abounding in *various readings*. We have given the common one, merely substituting marks of exclamation instead of those of interrogation. We suppose this to be the sense, first premising, that the king must be considered as pointing to Philotas. "That that individual, if he were so disturbed at the danger of the king, should not change countenance! That, anxious about so important a matter, he should yet be unwilling to listen to the informer! [I can't believe it, No,] the fact is (*nimirum*) under all this studied indifference (*silentio*), is concealed," &c.
8. *Quàm capit.*—"Than he is capable of."
9. *Orbitas* here signifies "that want of support" which is afforded to a parent and especially to a monarch by the possession of children.
10. *Viscerum meorum.*—See Note 20, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv.
11. *Mihi.*—"In my own estimation."
12. *Non possum, sc. salvus esse.*
3. *Conspecti, sc. ejus, i. e. Philotæ,* which is governed by *habitu.*

Note

14. *Cum eo*.—That is: Parmenio was impleaded with his surviving son in the same charge.
15. *Haud quaquam pro*, &c.—“In no way was the speech of Amyntas as pleasing to the king, as he expected.”
16. *Parricidam*.—See Note 12, Lib. iii. Cap. xii.
17. *Ecquid videtis*.—“Do you not perceive?” *Ecquid* usually requires a negative form of interrogation in English.
18. *Odio—tenceri*.—The reading adopted here by Zumpt as well as by many before him, is *adeò—tædere*. We prefer the one given in the text, because it is a form of expression similar to that used by our author (Lib. iii. Cap. ii. § 5, *cir. med.*)—because it is perfectly correct in itself,—because *tædere* is too closely allied in signification to *fastidit* in the next clause,—and because *adeo* seems hardly required to give force to the sentence.
19. *Ita*.—“With this remark.”

LIB. VI. CAP. X.

1. *Destitutus*.—Perhaps Curtius wrote *distractus*.
2. *Præsertim cùm quærenti*.—Philotas here refers to what is mentioned, Lib. vi. Cap. vii. § 19, *sub. fin.* (*Scisitari deinde*, &c.) The literal rendering of the passage is this: “Especially since to him (Nicomachus), making inquiries as to who were accomplices, I must have been named, though falsely, in order that he who was tampered with (“was fearful” if we read *verebatur*) might be more readily urged forward.”
3. *Non enim*, &c.—“For he did not omit my name after the crime was discovered that he might seem to spare a friend, but in making known the matter to Nicomachus, who, he believed, would be silent as to secrets that concerned himself, he mentioned others and kept back my name alone.” The text here, as well as throughout this section, is very much disputed.
4. *Dymnus sanè*, &c.—“Grant that Dymnus were both alive yet and willing to spare me; what will the rest [of the conspirators do]? Will they, forsooth, who confess their own guilt keep back my name?” The argument of Philotas is this: Even if Dymnus were alive and willing to spare me, the other conspirators, if I were guilty, would not; but as they do not inform against me, it is a fair proof of my innocence.
5. *Unum*.—“The only one.”
6. *Dimissus*.—“Discharged.”

Note

7. *Vcl.*—"At least."
8. *Malis indormientem, &c.*—"Sleeping secure in the midst of impending evils."
9. *Scelerati, &c.*—The order is: *Cùm scelerati non possint dormire, conscientia obstrepente, furia agitant, &c.*
10. *Impleturus.*—"Though about to fill."
11. *Inveni, sc. cos.*
12. *Si insontes, &c.*—"If I had harassed the innocent" by giving credit to and reporting to the king unfounded charges of conspiracy.
13. *At enim.*—Supply the ellipsis, implied by these words, thus: "But you ought to have given credit to the charge for Dymnus," &c.
14. *Consciis Dymno, &c.*—See Note 22, Lib. vi. Cap. vi.
15. *Tolli de medio, &c.*—"Might have been made way with, and that without difficulty."
16. *Sic ergò.*—"So then."
17. *Quàm quid Amyntas.*—"Than the fact that Amyntas."
18. *Fratrem regis.*—He was in reality the cousin of Alexander; but collateral relatives were frequently called brothers among the ancients. See Lib. vi. Cap. ix. § 27, *prop. init.*
19. *Etiam venerari.*—By the use of these terms our author makes Philotas covertly inveigh against Alexander's recent requirements with regard to Persian obeisance.
20. *Quod si, &c.*—"If it is just."
21. *At enim.*—The student will remember that these words imply an ellipsis and endeavour to supply it.
22. *Fides amicitia, &c.*—An eloquent passage.
23. *Regi.*—"For the benefit of the king." *Dativus commodi.*
24. *Non enim, &c.*—That is: I was not exciting odium against the king, but was only fearful that the course he was pursuing in claiming divine honours for himself, would bring it upon him.
25. *In arcanum, &c.*—*In* here means "with regard to;" in which sense it is used by Cicero and other standard writers. Zumpt leaves it out, and says *seclus* is used for *de scelere*.
26. *Hanc—fidem.*—"This reliable method."
27. *Parentes* is used here in the general sense of "relations," as the French use *les parens*.
28. *Parum est.*—"It is not enough."
29. *Quid.*—Supply *propter* before it.
30. *Expectare voluisset.*—"Had been willing to wait for awhile." *Quem* is the object of *expectare* and refers to *spiritum*.

Note

31. *Admonuit*.—"Has reminded me."
 32. *Bene meritis, &c.*—"Not to plot against those who have deserved well of you." This is the answer to the question of Philotas, *Quia facere, &c.*

LIB. VI. CAP. XI.

1. *Civilis habitus*.—"The habits of civilized life." The Delphin editor in a note at this place gives seven different significations in which *habitus* is used by our author. 1. "Clothing" (iii. 3.); 2. "Bodily form and stature" (iii. 12, vi. 5, vii. 8); 3. "Posture of the body" (viii. 4); 4. "Peculiar badge" (vii. 1); 5. "Condition" (iii. 12); 6. "Quality or character" (v. 7); 7. "Mode of life" (vi. 6, 11.)
2. *Diversoriis*.—"Soldiers' quarters" or "Mess-rooms."
3. *Purgamenta servorum*.—"The meanest of his slaves." Lit. "The offscourings of," &c.
4. *Fœmina illa*.—Namely, *Philotas*, whom he represents as very effeminate.
5. *Rusticos homines*.—By these he means his uneducated fellow-soldiers.
6. *Qui* refers to *ci*, i. e. *Philotæ*.
7. *Homines lingue sue*.—See Note 11, Lib. vi. Cap. v.
8. *Scilicet veritum, &c.*—"Fearful, forsooth, lest what the gods bestowed (upon the king) might prove the source of ill-will."
9. *Transeunt*.—This is a term derived from the mode of delivering opinions in the Roman Senate, where "a decree of the senate was made by a separation of the senators to different parts of the house. He who presided said, *Qui hoc censetis, illuc TRANSITE. Qui alia, &c.*" See Adams' Rom. Antiquities.
10. *Non ad questionem*.—"Not to elicit the truth."
11. *Ingrebantur*.—"Were brought to bear upon him." Lit. "Were heaped upon him."
12. *Habebat in potestate*.—"He controlled."
13. *Quâ cautum erat*.—"By which it was provided."
14. *Cæterum*.—"Be that as it may." See Note 15, Lib. iv. Cap. v.
15. *Actum est de nobis*.—"We are undone."
16. *Incuterent*.—"Might well excite."
17. *Vindicaturum*.—"Would claim for himself."
18. *Non enim sibi sed hosti*.—"Not for their own, but the enemy's benefit." *Dativi commodi*.
19. *Everberarent*.—This word is used in a similar connection by Quintilian (Inst. II. 4. 1.)

Note

20. *Causa non*.—"No reason for." That is: "No advantage in."
21. *Ingrēdi non poterat*.—"Was unable to walk."
22. *Incidens*.—"Lighting upon."
23. *Amicorum*.—See Note 14, Cap. vii. of this book.
24. *Itaque anceps quæstio fuit*.—"And thus the torture was uncertain in its results." Civilized nations have generally been led to see the uselessness of torture as a means of eliciting truth, and have, accordingly, abolished it.

LIB. VII. CAP. I.

1. *Alterum in acie, &c.*—"Had been the main support of one wing of the army" by commanding it "in battle."
2. *Satisque prudens, &c.*—"And sufficiently aware that the evils arising from inactivity are dissipated by constant employment," &c. Armies have not been the only sufferers from *ipsius inertie dulcedo*, as Tacitus (Agric. 3) finely expresses it.
3. *Haud dubie, &c.*—"Doubtless by arrangement."
4. *Conscientiæ*.—"Consciousness of guilt."
5. *Ex iis*.—Supply *quidam* as the subject of *confoderunt*.
6. *Obluctantem, &c.*—"While yet struggling with his want of memory."
7. *Olim esse sibi, &c.*—"That long since they had been made objects of suspicion to him by a letter from his mother in which," &c.
8. *Ceterum se invitum, &c.*—"But that he, unwilling to believe the worst, was now convinced, &c., and had ordered," &c.
9. *Non vice suâ*.—"Out of their turn."
10. *Ad hoc accedere*.—"Moreover."
11. *Scriba equitum*.—Perhaps answering to the "muster master" of a modern army.
12. *Si nihil interest regis*.—"If it make no difference to the king."
13. *Habitus*.—In military phrase "accoutrements." Here, however, we may infer from what follows, it has reference only to the lance, which formed the "peculiar badge" of the corps to which Amyntas belonged. See Note 1 of preceding chapter.
14. *Alexandri*.—Namely, Lyncestes Alexander.
15. *Tempori nostro*.—"To our peculiar circumstances."
16. *Cum quid, &c.*—Amyntas here enlarges upon the idea conveyed by the words *tempori nostro* in the previous sentence.
17. *Ferre nos*.—"Endure our arrogance."
18. *Indignatio*.—"Vexation," as contrasted with *latitia*.

Note

19. *Et quidquid, &c.*—A noble sentiment and one worthy of more extended application.
20. *Utinam Philotas, &c.*—That is: Would that Philotas had transgressed only by a few hasty expressions.
21. *Adcò non eo infitias.*—"I am so far from denying." *Eo infitias* is an idiomatic phrase, which, literally rendered, would be, "I go a denial." In our own language the vulgar phrases, "I cannot go that," "I'll go a treat," &c., resemble it. Some copies have *infitor* the verb.
22. *Decurrerent.*—"Should resort to."
23. *Ab illo traditi.*—"Commended by him."
24. *In tua verba.*—"According to the form prescribed by you."
25. *Te præcunte.*—See Note 14, Lib. iv. Cap. xiii. The phrase might possibly allude to the king's *passing along* the ranks, as the soldiers severally took the oath; we think, however, the sense referred to is the true one.
26. *Hoc sacramento, &c.*—"Bound as we were by this oath of attachment, should we, forsooth, turn our backs upon one whom you," &c.? Others, including Zumpt, read this clause affirmatively, but of course ironically.
27. *Hæc mihi cum, &c.*—"I had this affair with Antiphanes."
28. *Anceps est.*—"Has an equal bearing upon," &c.
29. *Nec infitias eo.*—See above, Note 21.
30. *Hoc unum, &c.*—"This single duty of his military calling."
31. *Inanes—species.*—"Mere phantoms."
32. *Integros.*—From *in*, "not," and *tango*, "I touch." Here it means "untouched by the hardships of military life." The word is also applied to "fresh troops" brought forward on the field of battle.
33. *Nè quem, &c.*—"That I should pay no regard to any one but you."

LIB. VII. CAP. II.

1. *Modò ne, &c.*—"Only let not my flight be reckoned as adverse to the," &c.
2. *Lacrymæ deinde, &c.*—The sudden change in the feelings of the soldiers, after the noble speech of Polemon, is graphically described; indeed the whole scene is fine.
3. *Alienus terror.*—That is: A panic inspired by the example of others.
4. *Mæstus non, &c.*—That is: *Mæstus non [ob] suam vicem sed [ob vicem] fratrum periclitantium propter ipsum.* For the construa-

Nota

- tion of *vicem* without a preposition, see Anthon's Zumpt's Gram. §§ 458, 459.
5. *Excussissem*.—Curtius, in the use of this word, probably refers to the Roman method of searching the person by *shaking out* the *toga*, in order that any thing concealed might fall out.
 6. *Simpliciter*.—"Sincerely," to be referred to *reconciliati*.
 7. *Tumultuoso*.—Used actively. "Calculated to excite a tumult."
 8. *Consternationis*.—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. ix.
 9. *Septuaginta natus, &c.*—"Though seventy years of age, he discharged," &c.
 10. *Hac impulerint, &c.*—Understand *an* before this clause.
 11. *Quia Philotas, &c.*—*Quia dubitatum est, Philotasne, victus ultimis cruciatibus, dixerit vera, quæ non poterant probari [esse] facta, an petierit finem tormentorum falsis re quoque, &c.*
 12. *Alioqui*.—"For other reasons."
 13. *Admonuit*.—"He gave notice."
 14. *Simpliciter*.—"Frankly."
 15. *Et qui forte, &c., hanc scorsum, &c.*—The grammatical connection between these two clauses is very awkward; hence Aeidalius, Schmieder, and others, have thought the former clause an interpolation. Some editions reject it altogether.
 16. *Excepit*.—"Sustained." "Did not give way under."

LIB. VII. CAP. IV.

1. *Cùm illos, &c.*—The order is: *Cùm idem [periculum], quod manet cæteros, maneat illos qui parcant; verò periculum proprium sibi [maneat eos] qui suadeant.*
2. * * * * *.—There are evidently some words wanting here, for *Bessus* is necessarily the subject of *tradidit*, according to the requirements of the sense, while, according to the grammatical construction, *Is*, i. e. *Cobares* would be the subject. Zumpt proposes to insert the words *a Besso dicere, quæ in animo haberet, jussus est*,—making *Is* the subject of *jussus est*, and *Bessus* (understood) the subject of *tradidit*.
3. *Hoc quoque nomine*.—"For this reason, among others."
4. *Abominor*.—This expression answers to the Greek "*μη γένοιτο*," and to the English "God forbid."
5. *Velocissimus*.—See Note 2, Lib. v. Cap. viii.
6. *Ille*, sc. *movebit*.
7. *Quin*.—"Why not?"

Note

8. *Quo facilius, &c.*—"On which account you may the more readily bear the loss of it."
9. *Fecerit, sc. te regem.*
10. *Quod diutiùs, &c.*—"Which it is unnecessary to mention any farther in detail."
11. *Traxére.*—"They prolonged."
12. *Alibi.*—"In various places."
13. *Deinde.*—"Then again."
14. *Siderum* may here be rendered "The Heavens"; "The Firmament." We find the word used in a like sense by Juvenal (xi. 63, xiii. 47.)
15. *Intenti in, &c.*—"Intently fixed upon the result, not only as it concerned the two combatants, but themselves, since they would share in the fate of another." That is: would have their lot decided by the success or defeat of their champion.
16. *Guttur.*—"The front"; *Cervice,* "the back" of the neck.
17. *Opimum belli decus.*—Our author here refers to the well-known Roman custom, which permitted the commanding general of an army, if he had slain with his own hands the commander of the enemy, to bear before him the spoils he had taken from the dead body, and which were called *opima spolia*. See Anthon's Smith's Dict., p. 907.

LIB. VII. CAP. V.

1. *Priùs desperatione, &c.*—"Sooner by the despair of obtaining any than by the actual want of it."
2. *Caligo.*—"A dark mist."
3. *Orabant, &c., cum ex iis, &c.*—"They were entreating, &c., when two of those, &c."
4. *Succurrerent.*—We have no doubt that this is the true reading, instead of *occurrerent*, as our author would not unnecessarily make use of the same verb twice in the same sentence. Besides, *succurrerent* is much better suited to the sense.
5. *Utre resoluto.*—This refers to the mode of opening the skins, viz., by loosening the string around the neck.
6. *Nec solus, &c.*—"I cannot endure to drink alone."
7. *Intercluso spiritu.*—That is: By suffocation.
8. *Qui agmen, &c.*—"Who brought up the rear."
9. *Dividit.*—"He distributes." See a similar meaning of this verb in Horace (Carm. l. 15. 15, and l. 36. 6.)

Note

10. *Quia nihil ulli, &c.*—This sentiment is founded on that general principle laid down by Ovid (Art. Am. I. 655);
- *Neque enim lex æquior ulla,
Quàm necis artifices arte perire sud,*
11. *Titulus*.—"The pretext."
12. *Talem* = *Sequentem*.
13. *Agitantes, &c.*—"That in the act of plotting they had been," &c.
14. *Partim—partim*.—"On the one hand—on the other."
15. *Iniquos—propitios, sc. Deos*.
16. *Dubios adhuc animi*.—"As yet hesitating in their purpose."
17. *Quibus matura, &c.*—"Whose discharge was at hand." That is: Whose term of service was just expiring.
18. *Talenta*.—See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap i.
19. *Paulatim a domestico, &c.*—"Having gradually degenerated from the purity of their own (*domestico*) tongue by the introduction of a foreign one (*externo*)."
20. *Proditis, sc. Milesiis*. Dative after *permittit*.
21. *Originis*.—That is: Their common origin as Milesians, for Branchus, from whom the family of the Branchidæ descended, presided over the temple of Apollo near Miletus.
22. *Postero die, &c.*—"The next day as the Branchidæ came [out of the city] to meet him, he orders them to proceed with him." That is: to reënter the city with him, that no one might escape the slaughter. This passage has puzzled critics much, most of them applying *occurentibus* to Alexander's Milesian soldiers; but, as it is mentioned above that the Branchidæ received Alexander gladly and gave themselves up to him, we can readily imagine that great numbers would leave the city to meet the advancing army. We have accordingly adopted a reading suggested by Modius. *Occurrentibus Branchidis* may be the dative governed by *jubet* (which would be an unusual construction) or the ablative absolute,—*eos* to be supplied before *procedere*.
23. *Adco*.—"Consequently."
24. *Omni velamento, &c.*—This, to an Eastern nobleman, would, in itself, be a very severe punishment.
25. *Aperiat—existat*.—Understand *Utinam* before these verbs.
26. *Sed hujus, &c.*—"But you repaid yourself (considered yourself repaid) for this murder by the empty title of king."
27. *Facinus purgare*.—"To justify his crime."
28. *Qui* has *sc* for its antecedent.

Note

29. *Excipret*.—"Would take off." The literal translation of this word corresponds very well with the English idiom in the same connection. Understand *volantes* with *aves*.
30. *Sagittandi*, &c.—"When the practice of archery has become so frequent," &c.

LIB. VII. CAP. VI.

1. *Latronum*.—"Predatory barbarians."
2. *Pugnam invadunt*.—"They engage in battle."
3. *Tum potissimum*.—"Just at that time of all others."
4. *Præteritis*.—"Overlooked." "Passed by." That is: Not permitted to carry him.
5. *Liberi ex quo*, &c.—"Independent since the death of Cyrus," who, according to some, perished among the Scythians.
6. *Iustissimos*, sc. *cos esse*.
7. *Europam*.—Our author here labours under the error (doubtless derived from his Greek authorities), of supposing that Alexander was now on the confines of Europe, and that the Jaxartes, now before him, was the Tanais or Don. This error pervades this part of his narrative, and, of course, renders it impossible to reconcile many of his geographical statements with the truth.
8. *Quos*.—Supply *eorum* before *quos*.
9. *Idque imperaturum*, &c.—"And [though] that duty had been enjoined upon them, yet they could not bear to perform it."
10. *Militum*, sc. *Macedonum*.
11. *Ne mentis*, &c.—That is: He was rendered insensible, or, perhaps, delirious.
12. *Percurato*.—"Thoroughly healed."
13. *Celeritatem*.—"Activity."
14. *Suffossa*.—"Undermined."
15. *Absolverentur*.—"Were completed."
16. *Nam divisum*, &c.—"For each had his allotted task." A similar instance of the division of labour, in building the walls of a city, is mentioned in O. T. (Nehem. Chap. iii.)
17. *Dati*.—"Were assigned."

LIB. VII. CAP. VII.

1. *Tanais*.—Williams, in his *Life of Alexander* (p. 191, Harp. ed.), makes the following remark with regard to this frequent erroneous mention of the Tanais. "The Macedonians, either from ignorance

Note

or flattery, called the Jaxartes, the Tanais, and boasted that their victorious king had passed into Europe through the northwestern boundaries of Asia."

2. *Humano cultu, &c.*—That is: They bear the marks of civilization.
Cultu for *cultui*.
3. *Modicus cibus*.—"Spare diet."
4. *Bactriani*.—Namely, that branch known as the *Sogdiani*.
5. *Vix suos, &c.*—"That his soldiers would scarcely believe that his sickness was not feigned."
6. *Ludibria*.—"The delusion."
7. *Sine Rege*.—"When the king was not present."
8. *Ne contentione vocis*.—"Lest by raising his voice."
9. *Discrimen*.—"A great crisis."
10. *Alieno Marte*.—That is: By exciting another nation (the Scythians) against us.
11. *Committere*.—"To unite."
12. *Recidere*.—"Will recoil."
13. *Quibus*.—"By the aid of which."
14. *Ut Scythæ*.—"Grant that the Scythians."
15. *Unus—adhuc exercitus*.—"But one army as yet."
16. *Et quod inferre, &c.*—That is: Instead of acting on the offensive, we shall be compelled to act on the defensive.
17. *Subdeficiens*.—"Half fainting." *Sub* always diminishes the force of the word to which it is prefixed; *per*, on the other hand, increases it.
18. *Superstitionem—incutere*.—"To inspire superstitious fear." A little below, *superstitio* may be rendered "superstitious feelings."
19. *Quem certum, &c.*—The order is:—*Quem, mehercule, habeo certum, uti suo metu, interprete extorum*. *Quem* is the subject of *uti*. *Certum*, acc. neut., qualifying the statement contained in the text of the clause.
20. *Tibi autem, &c.*—This is a much contested passage. The following are some of the various readings: *Tibi sapius haud quàm potest. Tibi autem sapius quàm potest. Tibi autem qui sapius quàm potest denuntiat ipsi*. Zumpt reads: *Tibi autem quietius quàm potest denuntio*, and thus translates: "with more quietness than is possible"; that is, "than you might expect from me." The reading in the text is from Modius, who calls it *elegans*, to which Raderus assents. We confess that we are not satisfied with any, and therefore suggest the following: *Tibi autem, cum potest, denuntio*. The king had just asked in anger the question, "Am I a king or a mere

Note

private individual?" and, after chiding Aristander for revealing the secrets of his art to Erigyius instead of to himself, he says that the latter had made "his fear the interpreter of the entrails," and exclaims "But now, *while it is in my power*, I lay my orders upon you to make known to me," &c. *Cùm* being written in the form *quàm*, might readily have been superseded by *quàm*.

21. *Magni, &c.*—"I have foretold that a crisis, involving great but not useless toil, is at hand."
22. *Quàm*, for *magis quàm*.
23. *Tum sollicitudinis, &c.*—"That at that time causes of anxiety had been apparent; that now the sacrifice was altogether propitious." The ready compliance of Aristander with Alexander's wishes, by forcing the sacrifices to have propitious results, makes one think of the remark of Cicero in the person of Cotta (*De Naturâ Deor.* I. 26, *init.*), *Mirabile videtur, quod non rideat aruspex, cùm aruspice[m] viderit.* Cicero, in another place, (*De Divin.* II. 24. *init.*), speaks of it as a remark of Cato. *Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat, quòd non rideret aruspex, aruspice[m] cùm vidisset.*
24. *Qui, sc. Spitamenes.*
25. *Simul fretus, &c.*—"And, at the same time, trusting that he (the enemy) might be intercepted, &c., lay in ambush."
26. *Excetus.*—"Borne out of" his own ranks.

LIB. VII. CAP. VIII.

1. *Animo disparem.*—"At variance with his feelings."
2. *Ibi sine arbitris, &c.*—"There in solitude (lit. "without witnesses"), weighing every purpose of his mind, he passed the night in watchings."
3. *Tanta erat, &c.*—This whole scene again reminds us of similar ones in the campaigns of the French emperor.
4. *Res.*—"The nature of the case."
5. *Habitus.*—See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.
6. *Scythis autem, &c.*—"The Scythians do not, like other barbarians, possess a genius rude and uncultivated."
7. *Quidam eorum, &c.*—"Some of them are said to acquire a degree of knowledge as great as a nation, always in arms, is capable of."
8. *Abhorrent.*—The subject of this verb is *ea quæ locuti sunt* (understood.)
9. *Sortitis.*—"Which have fallen upon."

Note

10. *Ut*.—For *utut*. Perhaps Curtius wrote the latter.
11. *Ubi tanti*, &c.—That is: You would endeavour to find out what becometh of the sun during the night.
12. *Leo quoque*, &c.—“There are occasions also when even the lion,” &c.
13. *Licetne*, sc. *nobis*.
14. *Data sunt*, sc. *a Diis*.
15. *Non succurrit tibi*, &c.—“Does it not occur to you how long you are at a stand in the neighbourhood of Bactra?” That is: How long it is taking you to subdue Bactra.
16. *Ut*.—See above, Note 10.
17. *Pateant*, sc. *Scythæ*.
18. *Eludi*.—“Are held up to scorn.”
19. *Sequimur*.—“We court.”
20. *Salubre consilium*, &c.—The future will place the salutary character of our advice in a clearer view than the present.
21. *Comprehendere*.—“To lay hold of.”
22. *Stultum est*, &c.—“It is sheer folly to be mindful of those things which lead you to forget yourself.”
23. *Cautio*.—“A precaution.”
24. *Nos religionem*, &c.—“We recognize the claims of religion by our good faith.”
25. *Bactra nisi*, &c.—That is: We are separated from Bactra only by the Tanais.

LIB. VII. CAP. IX.

1. *A puppe*.—It is difficult to determine whether these words refer to the persons seated on the stern, and holding their horses, or to the horses themselves swimming at the stern.
2. *Objectæ*.—That is: Interposed between them and the enemy.
3. *Conati nisu*.—Lit. “Endeavouring with exertion.” That is: Striving with all their might.
4. *Utpote libero nisu*.—“Since their exertions were no longer restrained,” sc. by the motion of the raft.
5. *Territos recipientesque*, sc. *Scythas*.—Some, however, have considered *equos* as put for *equites*. In that case, *se* must be understood with *recipientes*.
6. *Turbatis*, &c.—“They began to charge boldly upon them (the Scythians) thrown into confusion.”
7. *Effusis habenis*.—“At full speed.” Lit. “with loosened reins.”

Note

8. *Quaquam*, &c.—“Although unable to endure [without injury] the shaking of his weak frame.”
9. *Ut fidem*, &c.—The order is: *Ut faceret fidem certamen fuisse sibi cum ferocissimis gentium de fortitudine, non de irâ.*

LIB. VII. CAP. X.

1. *Carminibus*, &c.—“With songs peculiar to themselves.”
2. *Inimicos*.—“Personal enemies.” *Hostes*.—“Public enemies.”
3. *Consternationis*.—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. x.
4. *Tum velut*, &c.—“At that time, as it were, bridles upon the surrounding nations.” We find the term *bridle* applied to the city of Gath as far back as the time of David, who is represented as taking METHEG-AMMAH, the *bridle* of Ammah. Compare II. Sam. viii. 1—with I. Chron. xviii. 1.

LIB. VII. CAP. XI.

1. *In altitudinem*.—The perpendicular height is not intended, but the distance from the foot to the top of the rock.
2. *Os arctum*, &c.—There is a sort of climax, in this description, from the “narrow opening” to the “lofty chambers in the interior.”
3. *Pernicissimos*.—This word here means “Most active in every respect,”—in climbing and leaping, as well as running.
4. *Mei documenta*.—“Evidences of my character.”
5. *Nihil tam*, &c.—“Nature has placed nothing so high that true valour cannot reach.”
6. *Portio*.—“Proportion.”
7. *His=talibus*.
8. *Quod bene*, &c.—See Note 9, Lib. v. Cap. iv.
9. *Facies*.—“Sight”—“Spectacle.”
10. *Rimantes*.—“Searching”—“Prying into.”
11. *Vicem*.—See Note 4, Lib. vii. Cap. ii.
12. *Acies*.—“His eyesight.”
13. *Abire*.—“To be off.”
14. *Sicut pleraque*, &c.—“Like many of the vain and trivial occurrences in war.”
15. *Ille*, sc. *Alexander*.
16. *Crucibus jussit*, &c.—What innate cruelty there must be in the human heart when orders like this can be coolly given.
17. *Tutelâ*.—“In charge.”

LIB. VIII. CAP. I.

Note

1. *Mayore famâ, &c.*—"With more of present notoriety than lasting glory."
2. *Imperata fecerunt.*—*Imperata* or *mandata facere*, phrases of frequent occurrence in our author, as well as in Cæsar, Nepos, and others, are generally equivalent to *se dedere* or *deditionem facere*.
3. *Incomposito agmine, &c.*—"With a disordered column and broken ranks."
4. *Prædabundus.*—Adjectives with this termination denote "a proneness to," "a tendency towards," and, as in the case before us, "an immediate purpose to."
5. *Quibus adjunctis.*—"On their forming a junction with him."
6. *Regnavit.*—"Was king," *sc.* of Thrace.
7. *Quandam* is here equivalent to our phrase "Once upon a time."
8. *Id ipsum, &c.*—"Upbraiding him with that very thing."
9. *Temere vulgarit.*—"Reported without any grounds."
10. *Scivêre.*—"Decreed."
11. *Pedes.*—"On foot."
12. *In posterum, sc. diem.*
13. *Multo incaluisset, &c.*—"Had become heated with excess of wine."
14. *Gravius etiam, &c.*—"Making himself offensive even," &c.
15. *Obterere.*—"To disparage."
16. *Sui operis, &c.*—"Had been the result of his efforts."
17. *Jacuisse.*—"Lay prostrate."
18. *Non aliâs.*—"In no other way."
19. *Æquo animo.*—"From a sense of justice."
20. *Invitum filio.*—"Unwillingly indebted to his son for safety."
21. *Itaque.*—"And so too."
22. *Sine eo.*—"Without his father."
23. *Qui Samothracum, &c.*—"Who went to see the mysteries of the Samothracians." *Viso* usually includes the combined meanings of *Eo* and *Video*. We find numerous instances of it in the dramatic poets. Digby "in his translation of Curtius" sadly mistakes the word *initia*, which he renders "borders."
24. *Cubabant.*—"Were reclining at table,"—according to the prevailing customs of most nations at that time, and for many centuries thereafter. See Anthon's Smith's Dict. (Trielinium.)
25. *Euripidis retulit carmen.*—"Repeated some verses of Euripides." (Androm. 693.)
26. *Ita ut, &c.*—"In such a way that the sound could be heard, rather

Note

than any articulate remark be understood." *Exaudio* signifies "to hear so as to understand."

27. *Malè instituisse, &c.*—"That it was a faulty institution (custom) of the Greeks."
28. *Alieno enim, &c.*—"For (in this way) the glory acquired by the blood of others was carried off by them."
29. *Maligniùs habitum, &c.*—"That an ill-natured remark had been made."
30. *Et Rex velut, &c.*—"And the king, while apparently listening with patience to the remarks by which Clitus was disparaging his fame, was in reality very much enraged." Lit. "Had conceived great wrath."
31. *Animo—imperaturus.*—"About to restrain his temper."
32. *Exprobraturum sibi, &c.*—"Would upbraid him with the fact that his life was a gift from him (Clitus.)" That is: That Clitus had saved his life at the battle of Granicus.
33. *Atque illum, &c.*—The order is: *Atque [illi], qui cubuerant proximi ei, iurgantes monentesque, conabantur, injectis manibus, abducere illum, adhuc cunctantem surgere.*
34. *Violentiam.*—Some copies read *Vinolentiam.*
35. *Suo pectore, &c.*—"That his (Alexander's) back had been protected by his (Clitus') breast; that now after the occasion of such a meritorious deed had passed away, even the remembrance of it had become odious." The contrast implied in the words *tergum* and *pectore* would of course be very offensive to Alexander.
36. *Objiciebat.*—"He taunted him with."
37. *Jam.*—"By this time."
38. *Medium complexi, &c.*—"Seizing him by the waist—they held him back."
39. *Quod—nuper, &c.*—Referring to the seizure of Darius by Bessus and his accomplices.
40. *Impotens animi.*—"Having no longer any control over his wrath."
41. *Aditu.*—"Passage-way."
42. *Eminebat, &c.*—"The dreadful character of the crime he was meditating disclosed itself even in the tones of his voice."

LIB. VIII. CAP. II.

1. *Malè humanis, &c.*—That is: It is an unfortunate provision of nature with regard to the human mind that usually we do not ponder well upon the results of our actions, while those results are in the future, but only when they are past recall.

Note

2. *Serâ*.—"Too late."
3. *Videbat tunc, &c.*—The order is: *Videbat virum, tunc abusum immodicâ libertate, sed alioqui egregium bello, et, nisi erubesceret fateri, servatorem sui, occisum* [*fuisse a se ipso*].
4. *Paulo antè convivâ*.—"Of one who had just been his guest."
5. *Liberioremque pœnitentiam*.—"Freer scope for penitential feelings."
6. *Extracta est*.—Lit. "Was dragged out." The word implies that he passed a long and weary night.
7. *Subit*.—"It occurs to."
8. *Cæterum magis, &c.*—"Again he was disturbed the more because," &c.
9. *Vivendum esse, sc. sibi*.
10. *Terrenti alias, &c.*—This is very forcibly expressed whether we consider *alias* as an adjective agreeing with *feras* understood, or as an adverb, and translate, "at one time—at another."
11. *Lacrymis abortis, &c.*—"With gushing tears, he exclaims: *These are the thanks that I have returned,*" &c.
12. *Omnibus ejus, &c.*—"Of all her friends I am the only one that survives and, at the same time, the only one that she," &c.
13. *Sine memoriâ, &c.*—"Without putting her in mind of her misfortune."
14. *Maximè ad confirmandum pudorem*.—"Chiefly for the purpose of regaining his complexion" (for, as *Rubor* is sometimes put for *Pudor*, so we find *Pudor* for *Rubor*)—or, "Chiefly for the purpose of giving strength to the shame (and penitence)" he felt for his murderous deed—or, lastly, "Chiefly for the purpose of (regaining and) strengthening the reverence" of the soldiers for him.
15. *Congregantur*.—"They unite together."
16. *Alteram defectionem*.—"Their second revolt."
17. *Is, armatis, &c.*—"He, having armed his countrymen, had hedged in, by a strong fortification, the entrance into the country, where it was compressed into a narrow space."
18. *Præterfluebat*.—"In front flowed a rapid stream."
19. *Perpetuus cuniculus*.—"A continuous underground passage."
20. *Munimenta—manu adjuncta*.—That is: The artificial defences. *Manu* is opposed to *naturali situ*.
21. *Emicabant*.—"Became conspicuous"—"Attracted attention."
22. *Omni alio, &c.*—"Rejecting every other method of defence."
23. *Ut fidem, &c.*—"That he had better make trial of the good faith."

Note

24. *Cui quisquis, &c.*—"That whosoever threw himself in its way (opposed it) would bring upon his own head the calamities destined for others."
25. *Deditionem annuebat.*—"Assented to a surrender."
26. *Pretium.*—"The value."
27. *Præceps.*—"Rash."
28. *Fidei, sc. Regis.*
29. *Supervenit.*—"Came up."
30. *Spe—factâ.*—"The hope being held out to him."
31. *Utcumque.*—"As well as they could."
32. *Ut fere fit.*—"As is generally the case."
33. *Defecerant, &c.*—"Had given out, with the exception of Philip."
34. *Vectum.*—"Who was on horseback."
35. *Cùm lorica, &c.*—"Although, clad in mail, he was carrying his arms."
36. *Se applicuit.*—"He leaned against."

LIB. VIII. CAP. III.

1. *Sed hanc quoque, &c.*—"But the objects of this expedition as in most other instances, fortune, never weary of bestowing favours upon him, accomplished in his behalf during his absence."
2. *Et quo efficaciores, &c.*—"And to render entreaties more forcible, Alexander was not," &c.
3. *Ille, se prodi, &c.*—The order is: *Ille, ratus se prodi, non moneri, et eam, profectò* (doubtless) *fiduciâ formæ, cupere dedi quàm primum Alexandro, strinxit, &c.*
4. *Fastidio præsentium.*—"By the disgust he felt for those around him," *sc. pellicum.*
5. *Quòd.*—"Inasmuch."
6. *De cætero.*—"For the future."
7. *De die convivium.*—See Note 3, Lib. v. Cap. vii.
8. *Alto et gravi somno.*—*Alto* refers to the soundness of the sleep, from which it would be difficult to awaken him;—*gravi* to the hard breathing and uneasiness produced by excess in eating and drinking.
9. *Illo proficiente.*—"Upon his making a statement of facts."
10. *Meritum ingens in semet.*—"Of great service to himself."
11. *Vicit tamen, &c.*—"The atrocity of the crime, however, overcame gratitude for the service rendered."

LIB. VIII. CAP. IV.

Note

1. *Terrere*.—This word must be differently rendered, according as it is applied to *oculos* or *animos*. With the former it means “to dazzle”—with the latter, “to terrify.”
2. *Exceperant*.—“They had borne up against it.” Lit. “They had received it.”
3. *Nec ipsi*, sc. *poterant*.
4. *Quaquam imbrem*, &c.—That is: The ground was one sheet of ice from the rain freezing on it as it fell.
5. *Nec fallebat*, &c.—“Nor did it fail to occur to them that they were choosing a place to die, as soon as,” &c.
6. *Pertinax*.—“Long continued.”
7. *Lucemque*, &c.—The order is: *Praterque tempestatem haud disparem nocti, umbra quoque sylvarum suppresserat lucem naturale solatium*.
8. *Nec ulla res*, &c.—“Nor did any thing tend more to their safety, than their being ashamed to desert their king, who with manifold toil, was able to bear up against the evils to which they succumbed.” *Multiplicato* refers to Alexander’s cares and duties as commander-in-chief, as well as his personal exertions.
9. *Commovit*.—“Aroused.”
10. *Rigor*.—“Extreme cold.”
11. *Pestis*.—This word is applied to any dire calamity, such as, war, pestilence, or famine. Here it refers to a severe storm accompanied with extremity of cold.
12. *Habitu*.—“Outward appearance.” See Note 1, Lib. vi. Cap. xi.
13. *Sustentans*.—This participle seems to require *agere*, *vix*, or some word of like import to qualify it.
14. *Et promisso*, &c.—“And a faithful performance followed the promise.”
15. *Rex gratiam*, &c.—“The king, after saying that Sysimithres had made a return for his kindness,” &c. *Habere gratiam*, or *Gratias agere*, “To feel thankful for,” or “To return thanks in words.” *Referre gratiam*, “To show gratitude by deeds.”
16. *Decore habitus*.—Many commentators have referred these words to Roxane’s “commanding form,” and have paraphrased it by *stature elegantia*. Others, with more reason, apply it to the “gracefulness of her attire.”
17. *Minus jam*, &c.—“Who already, amid the favours of fortune .

Note

(against whom mankind are not sufficiently on their guard), exerted too little control over his desires."

18. *Tunc in amorem*, &c.—"Was at that time so given up to the love of a silly girl (who, in comparison with the royal family, was of low birth), as to declare," &c.
19. *Ita*.—That is: As Achilles was married to Briseis.
20. *Jungentibus opes*.—"Uniting their interests."
21. *Qui maxime*, &c.—"Which most readily obeys the behests of others."

LIB. VIII. CAP. V.

1. *Destinata*.—"Designs."
2. *Luxum magis*, &c.—That is: More for the purpose of extravagant profuseness than of a reasonable display of wealth. The meaning of the author is not very obvious. See § 30 of this book, *ad init.*
3. *Viri equique*.—We adopt here the conjecture of Snakenburg founded on our author's use of this phrase (Lib. iv. Cap. xiii. § 1 and Lib. viii. Cap. xiii. § 43.) It is strengthened by what follows, where Alexander is represented as adorning both *men* and *horses* with gold and silver, confessedly in imitation of the Indians. The more common readings are *Periti* and *Clypei*. The former is adopted by Zumpt.
4. *Quod*.—Supply *id.* That is: His purpose of claiming divine honours.
5. *Perinde* is to be united with *ac* in translating.
6. *Venerabundus*.—See Note 4, Lib. viii. Cap. i.
7. *Nemo enim*, &c.—"For no one of them could endure that there should be any falling away from," &c.
8. *Græcorum*, sc. *Culpa*.
9. *Honestarum artium*.—By these he means painting, sculpture, &c., in which the Greeks excelled.
10. *Post Chærilum*.—"With the exception of Chærilus,"—not, as Digby translates, "since Chærilus," for he was at this time accompanying Alexander, though probably he did not unite with the others in their abject servility. He is mentioned by Horace (Epis. II. i. 232) in no very complimentary terms.

*Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.*

11. *Hi* is in apposition with *Agis*, *Cleo* and *purgamenta*.

Note

12. *Cessuros esse*.—"Would yield precedence."
13. *Majestatem enim, &c.*—"That is: The exalted character of the throne was its safeguard."
14. *Secum viventium*.—"Their contemporaries."
15. *Spondidisset*.—"Had guaranteed" or "pledged itself for."
16. *Prompta libertas*.—"His ready freedom of speech."
17. *Invidiam—contraheres*.—"Bring odium upon."
18. *Nullum esse, &c.*—"That no fruit is at the same time lasting."
19. *Modò*.—"Just now."
20. *Scilicet*.—"Forsooth."
21. *Potentiam tuam, &c.*—"You may test your power if you please."
22. *Facilius est, &c.*—"It is easier to bestow an earthly empire upon one than heaven." That is: Than to make him a god—therefore I call upon you to perform the easier task before you attempt the more difficult one.
23. *Dii propitii—audierint—patiantur—velint*.—These subjunctives are to be translated as if preceded by *Utinam*.
24. *Expresserat, &c.*—"He had elicited not only the silent assent, but the expressed approbation of," &c.
25. *Eorum quæ, &c.*—"Of the remarks which had been thrown out on either side."
26. *Quasi potiora, &c.*—"Although he had been engaged in some more important business."
27. *Super regem*.—As in a room with three couches at the table the middle one was the most honourable, so on a couch containing three persons the middle position was the most honourable, while the next in honour was held by him who reclined in front, or on the bosom, of the other, as was the case with St. John (John xiii. 23.) See Anthon's Smith's Dict. (*Triclinium*.)
28. *Olim*.—"Long since."
29. *Nec regem, &c.*—"That the king was not a worthy subject of derision, nor himself of degradation."

LIB. VIII. CAP. VI.

1. *In Calisthenem, &c.*—"Against Calisthenes, who had been for some time suspected of arrogant stubbornness, his wrath was of a more determined character."
2. *Ad munia*.—"For the discharge of duties."
3. *Servatis, &c.*—"Observing their nightly turns."
4. *Admovebant*.—"Brought them up" to the place where the king mounted.

Note

5. *Stirpibus*.—By these are meant the kings of Egypt, Syria, Macedonia, &c., afterwards (but not *many ages afterwards*) conquered by the Romans.
6. *Igitur*.—"Well then." That is: After this preliminary statement, I will proceed with the incident I was about to relate. *Igitur* is often used to introduce the main topic after a slight digression or preliminary statement.
7. *Cum aprum*, &c.—That is: Had anticipated others, and particularly the king, in striking a wild boar with his javelin.
8. *Corpus in quo*, &c.—"That form on which he doted."
9. *Puerili impetu*.—"With boyish impetuosity."
10. *Comitas*.—"The agreeable character."
11. *Attonitæ—mentis*.—"With a mind divinely inspired."
12. *Conversum in regia*.—"To have the freedom of the palace."
13. *Instinctu*.—"By a divine impulse."
14. *Inter conjuratos*.—"As well as the other conspirators."
15. *Pœnitentiam ejus*, sc. *facinoris*.—"Was sorry for it." "Repented of it."
16. *Sed solitum—faciles aures præbere*.—"But as one accustomed to lend a ready ear."
17. *Ad consulendam*, &c.—"To soothe the sufferings inflicted by the scourge."
18. *Dolorem*.—"Anger."
19. *De quibus agebatur*.—"Whose cause was to be tried."

LIB. VIII. CAP. VII.

1. *Ingenuis*.—"Of noble birth."
2. *Quota pars*.—"How few."
3. *Quantum ad*, &c.—As far as regards the enemy.
4. *Simplici morte*.—"That is: Without torture."
5. *Ad expectenda*.—"To inflict."
6. *Justissimo et patientissimo*.—Spoken ironically.
7. *Hæc ergo*.—"These then."
8. *Gratuitas*.—"Unrecompensed."
9. *Novo more* does not refer to any new method of passing under the yoke, but signifies that it was a new thing altogether for conquerors to be subjected to that or any other punishment.
10. *Aversaris*.—"Turn your back."
11. *Duci*, sc. *ad supplicium*.

LIB. VIII. CAP. VIII.

Note

1. *Confessum enim, &c.*—This is, as Freinsheim remarks, *malè affectus locus*. The readings vary greatly, though the sense is obviously this: That Hermolaus had confessed the worst of crimes, and yet the king had compelled him to utter what he had to say, not only that he himself, but that the soldiers also might hear. Zumpt's reading, *Tamen non solum audivi sed ut ipsi audiretis*, leaves the passage still *malè affectum*.
2. *Non imprudens.*—"Not unaware."
3. *Istum.*—"That that fellow" probably pointing to him.
4. *Excitare.*—"To call up to testify," in which sense this word is used by Cicero (Pro. Rab. Postumo, 12.)
5. *Superbè habiti.*—"If treated with arrogance."
6. *Non transire.*—"Not merely to overrun it."
7. *Verùm tamen, &c.*—"But still" (there is another charge), "I infuse," &c.
8. *Enim.*—(This charge is trivial) "for," &c.
9. *Recipere, sc. id nomen.*
10. *Et sæpe etiam, &c.*—"And often that, which has been believed without good grounds, has served the purpose of truth."
11. *An me luxuriæ, &c.*—"Do you suppose that it was for the purpose of indulging in luxury that I," &c.
12. *Solvi.*—"I abrogated."
13. *Initi consilii, &c.*—"Guiltless of having joined the conspiracy against the king's life."
14. *Assentantium.*—"Courtiers."

LIB. VIII. CAP. IX.

1. *India tota ferme, &c.*—Curtius, in this passage, states that the greater part of India *lies toward* the east, that is, as he explains it, its breadth from north to south is less than its length from west to east. The ancients supposed the habitable earth (including land and water) to extend to an indefinite distance, east and west; but that it was circumscribed by very narrow limits on the north and south. The former they imagined to be the regions of perpetual frost and snow; the latter to be consumed by eternal fire. Hence the terms, *rectâ plagâ, rectâ regione*, when employed by them with reference to the points of the compass, usually, if not always,

Note

- denoted the direction east and west. The statement of Curtius, we may observe, is erroneous, as it is much further from the Himalaya mountains to the southern promontory of Ceylon, than from the Indus to the Brahmaputra.
2. *Quæ Austrum accipiunt*.—"The regions which receive the south wind." That is: The southern parts. Some read *aspiciunt*.
 3. *Excedunt*.—"Extend."
 4. *Caucaso*.—In reality the *Parapamisus*, which our author seems to consider a continuation of the Caucasian range.
 5. *Stringit*.—"Passes along."
 6. *Findens ripas*.—"Wearing away its banks." Lit. "Cutting."
 7. *Quia non adeò, &c.*—"Because they do not flow so far." "Are not as large rivers" as those above mentioned.
 8. *Libri*.—*Liber* denotes "the inner,"—*cortex*, "the outer bark" of a tree.
 9. *Non generat*.—As this statement is so contrary to the fact, perhaps Curtius wrote *neqnon*.
 10. *Causa*.—"Source."
 11. *Utique postquam*.—"At all events since."
 12. *Libido*.—"A passion for extravagance."
 13. *Colunt*.—"They adorn."
 14. *Capillum pectunt, &c.*—"They comb their hair frequently, they seldom cut it." The literal translation, we think, would hardly present the author's meaning.
 15. *Luxuria—magnificentiam*.—See Note 2, Cap. v. of this book.
 16. *Distincta sunt*.—"Are embroidered."
 17. *Auratas columnas*.—Probably covered with plates of gold.
 18. *Auro calata*.—"Carved in gold."
 19. *Venatûs*.—This word has given trouble to critics, some considering it the nominative; others, the genitive case. Scheffer views it as a gloss and rejects it. We retain it a genitive.
 20. *Inhabili*.—"Unmanageable."
 21. *Occupare fati diem*.—"To anticipate the day of fate." That is: To put an end to one's self before the day appointed by fate.
 22. *Segnis ætas*.—"A dull, inactive life."
 23. *Expectatam mortem*.—"A death that is waited for."
 24. *Illi qui in, &c.*—"Those (wise men) who live in cities according to the customs of those around them," &c.
 25. *Nec quemquam, &c.*—"That no one anticipates death (by suicide) who can await its approach without terror."
 26. *Anni plena spatia servant*.—Some editors read *servantur*. Ac

Note

According to the text *Anni* may be the subject of *servant* or the genitive limiting *spatia*, and then *servant* will have the same subject as *descripserunt*. If we read *servantur*, then *spatia* is the subject of the verb and *anni* the genitive.

27. *Operæ pretium*.—"Worth while."

LIB. VIII. CAP. X.

1. *Igitur*.—See Note 6, Lib. viii. Cap. vi.
2. *Iisdem*, &c.—"Intending to make use of these same persons as guides."
3. *Jam*.—"By this time."
4. *Opportunum remedium*.—"The seasonable relief."
5. *Cum*, *hostium*, &c.—"When those of the enemy who had ventured an engagement."
6. *Pomorum*, &c.—Equivalent to, *Poma quoque sunt variorum salubriamque suorum*. "There are fruits of diversified and healthful flavour."
7. *Fortuitorum*.—"Accidentally deposited."
8. *Fortuitam latitiam*.—"The boisterous mirth that had sprung up by chance." *Latitia* expresses a more extravagant joy than *gaudium*, or rather, *gaudium* is the inward feeling—*latitia* the outward expression of it.
9. *Libero patri*, &c.—"He kept his army engaged in the performance of sacred rites to Father Bacchus." *Operari* is a term peculiar to religious rites. The *opus operatum* holds a prominent place in modern religious discussions.
10. *Sapius fortuna*, &c.—"Is oftener the result of good fortune ("good luck," if the reader prefer it) than of personal virtue."
11. *Inter ora hostium*.—"In the face of the enemy." He is anticipating here what he relates more fully in Lib. ix. Cap. x.
12. *Lateri vinculum*.—"The stones, which they have interposed serve as binders to the brick work."
13. *Universa*.—Supply *materia*. This passage has given rise to much discussion among critics, and we are very far from pretending *tantas componere lites*. We give the reading which appears to us to have the best claims to correctness and simplicity. The following paraphrase expresses our view of the sense of the place. "And, at the same time, lest, as the soil was saturated with moisture, the whole mass might settle, strong beams were interposed *perpendicularly* along the wall, at proper distances, their ends projecting a little

Note

above the top so as to receive the roofing, which served both to protect the wall and to afford a passage along the top of it." Zumpt reads *impositæ*, but fails to tell us how beams, laid along the top of a wall, would prevent it from settling.

14. *Tum*.—"At this time." He had been wounded on two other occasions,—in the shoulder (Lib. iv. § 25)—in the neck (Lib. vii. § 26.)
15. *Negabant*.—See Note 23, Lib. iv. Cap. i.

LIB. VIII. CAP. XI.

1. *Senior*=*Senex*.
2. *Si pretium operi esset*.—"If well paid for his trouble."
3. *Metæ*.—These were of a conical or pyramidal form.
4. *Voragines cluviesque*.—"Ravines and gullies."
5. *Truncam*.—"Stripped of its branches."
6. *Nullo detrectante, &c.*.—"No one hesitating to discharge a duty in which the king was the first to engage."
7. *Placuit, sc. suis militibus*.
8. *Triste spectaculum*.—We had a similar passage in the last book, § 41.
9. *Evaserant*.—"Had gained the summit." That is: The comparatively level surface near the top of the rock, but, as the next sentence shows, there were higher prominences above them.
10. *Ipsi, sc. Charus et Alexander*.
11. *Tamen magnæ, &c.*.—That is: He offered the same sacrifices as he would have done for a great victory.
12. *Quo, sc. itinere*.

LIB. VIII. CAP. XII.

1. *Gravius agmen, &c.*.—"The more heavy armed troops."
2. *Modicis itineribus*.—"By easy marches."
3. *Regnabat*.—"Was king of."
4. *Patri—fuerat auctor*.—"Had counselled his father."
5. *Permisso*.—The participle in the ablative joined with the phrase *ut regnaret*, and thus forming an ablative absolute. We have several instances of the kind in our author. See Lib. v. Cap. xiii. § 1, and note.
6. *Non tamen, &c.*.—"He had had, however, no personal intercourse with him."

Note

7. *Vel, —vel.*—"In the one case,—in the other."
8. *Gloriæ.*—"For glory." Dative of reference.
9. *Simplicitate.*—"Frankness."
10. *Tauros.*—We may supply *tradidit etiam* before this word.
11. *Sequente nomine imperium.*—"The name accompanying the royal authority."
12. *Insignibus.*—"Trappings."

LIB. VIII. CAP. XIII.

1. *Ut intranti, &c.*—"Namely, to be ready for him," &c.
2. *Barzacntes.*—See Lib. vi. § 18, *ad fin.*
3. *Gravioribus, &c.*—"With arrows too heavy to be properly discharged."
4. *Nec pro spatio, &c.*—"Nor, as would be supposed from the extent of its waters which resembled a wide lake, was its impetuosity retarded."
5. *Capacia bonæ, &c.*—"Hearts capable of high hopes, and which had often been tried."
6. *Levia prælia.*—"Light skirmishes."
7. *Parvæ rei, &c.*—"By the issue of a trifling engagement was experimenting on the results of a pitched battle."
8. *Partium* refers to the Macedonians, and may be familiarly rendered "Of their side."
9. *Si unquam, &c.*—"If ever successful rashness would set bounds to itself."
10. *Talem=sequentem.*
11. *A custodiâ, &c.*—"From watching a spot so suitable to his purposes."
12. *Æqualem sibi, sc. ætate.*
13. *Utique.*—"At all events."
14. *In regionem insulæ.*—"Towards the island."
15. *Averso, sc. ab Alexandro.*
16. *Inferiorem—ripam.*—"The bank lower down."
17. *Terruisset alium, &c.*—"The darkness that overspread the sky would have alarmed any other general."
18. *Accersentes.*—"Summoning." A fine expression—as though glory were at their beck and only awaited the summons to attend them.
19. *Expelli.*—"To be pushed off" from the shore.

LIB. VIII. CAP. XIV.

Note

1. *Rerum adesse, &c.*—"That a decisive action was at hand."
2. *Omissis habenis.*—"Letting fall the reins." *Effusis habenis.*—"With loosened reins," that is: At full speed.
3. *Movcbantur, sc. Elephanti.*
4. *Habebatur.*—The subject of this verb is *deseruisse gestantes.*
5. *Ex illo hoste.*—"From him when an enemy."
6. *Dextrum move.*—"Throw the right wing of the enemy into confusion." Critics agree that there is an error here, but how to solve it, they are not agreed. It would be more natural to apply *move* to the right wing of the Macedonians, but the king commanded that. Again, it is difficult to apply it to the *right* wing of the enemy, for Curtius subsequently states, that Cœnus charged the *left*. We leave it to others to remove the difficulty.
7. *Non aliàs.*—"In no other way."
8. *Ipsas, sc. belluas.*
9. *Anceps.*—"Hazardous."
10. *Molientes ictus.*—"While preparing to discharge their arrows."
11. *Nihil in, &c.*—"No regard was paid to the common good in their counsels."
12. *Meliorem, &c.*—"A kind of soldiery better adapted to a sudden onset than to a steady hand-to-hand fight."
13. *Terribilis illa facies.*—See Note 9, Lib. vii. Cap. xi.
14. *Manu.*—"The trunk" or "proboscis."
15. *Copidas.*—Literally, "Cutters."
16. *Mortis—supplicii.*—Critics are at variance with regard to the construction of these genitives;—some making them to refer to *quidquam*, and, among these Zumpt, who thus translates: "The fear (which they had of the elephants) left no means untried not only to kill them, but even to inflict in death some additional pain." The learned commentator then *naïvely* subjoins the following observation: "*That the soldiers had any intention to inflict unnecessary pain upon the animals we cannot for a moment believe; the statement is a mere rhetorical exaggeration.*" Others, however (and with them we coincide in opinion), prefer connecting the genitives with *timor*, and give this sense to the passage: "The fear, not only of death, but of new tortures in death, left nothing untried," by which the attacks of the elephants might be repelled. The idea thus suggested follows very naturally after the mention of *copidas* in the preceding sen-

Note

tence. *Novi supplicii* refers to what he had stated above in the clause, *Præcipue terribilis, &c.*

17. *Magis clapsa, &c.*—"Which fell rather than were hurled."
18. *Fluentibus membris.*—"His limbs relaxed."
19. *Posito magis, &c.*—"Depositing the king gently on the ground rather than throwing him down with violence."
20. *Malum !*—An exclamation frequent in Latin authors, and equivalent to "The mischief!" of our vernacular.
21. *Libertate.*—"Frankness"—"Freedom."
22. *Fortiorem* both here and just below refers, not to the personal strength or bravery of the kings, but to their resources, and consequently may be rendered "more powerful."
23. *Sed ne sic quidem.*—"But not even under these circumstances."
24. *Quippe magnitudinem, &c.*—Lit. "For he (Alexander) deemed it a worthy thing to receive (to meet), not only with pity but also with honour, his greatness of mind, which showed no fear and which was unbroken indeed by adverse fortune."
25. *Confirmatum, contra, &c.*—"When contrary to the expectation of all he recovered his strength," &c.
26. *Simpliciùs.*—"With more impartiality."

LIB. IX. CAP. I.

1. *Affirmatio ejus.*—"His assurances."
2. *Navata opera.*—"Of service performed."
3. *Plerique rami.*—The description here given seems to denote the celebrated Banyan tree under the shade of whose branches a whole regiment can find shelter. Milton (*Par. Lost*, ix. 1100) thus alludes to it:

————— "There soon they chose,
The fig-tree; not that kind for fruit renown'd,
But such as at this day, to Indians known,
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High over-arched, and echoing walks between."

4. *Ut barbari.*—"For barbarians." That is: Considering they were barbarians.
5. *Eorum, sc. arbitrio.*
6. *Insignes.*—"Remarkable for blemishes."
7. *Obtinebatur.*—"Was held."

Note

8. *Baculum*.—"His sceptre."
9. *Omnino*.—"In all," i. e. "only."
10. *Tum ex iis, &c.*—The order is: *Tum unus ex iis, qui assueverant talibus ministeriis, capit avellere crus canis inhærentis cum aliis leoni, et quia, &c.*
11. *Igitur*.—"To return from our digression." See Note 6, Lib. viii. Cap. vi.

LIB. IX. CAP. II.

1. *Cordi fuisse*.—"Was beloved."
2. *Ab eâ in, &c.*—The order is: [*Eum*] *admotum ab eâ in propiorem locum amicitiae ejus, qui tum regnasset, eo interfecto per insidias, invasisse regnum sub specie tutelae ejus liberum, necatisque pueris generasse hunc qui, &c.*
3. *Relegatos, &c.*—"Banished almost to the utmost bounds of human society."
4. *Abundantes onustosque, &c.*—This clause cannot very well depend upon *dubitabat*; and, therefore, it is better to understand *arbitratur enim*, or some phrase of like import.
5. *Idem*.—Used substantively and governing *animi* in the genitive.
6. *De industria*.—"Purposely."
7. *Terribilem*.—This adjective, though in the singular to agree with the last noun, must in sense be connected with all.
8. *Numquam ad, &c.*—"Never is common rumour guided to that which is certain." Why not *perducit*?
9. *Nostro quoque, &c.*—"Our own glory, though founded on something substantial, owes more to rumour than to what we have actually performed." See Note 6, Lib. iii. Cap. viii.; also, Lib. viii. Cap. viii. *Fama enim bella constant, &c.*
10. *Eadem vanitas*.—"The same disregard for truth."
11. *Nam flumen, &c.*—"For as to the river, the more widely," &c.
12. *Coërcita*, sc. *flumina*.
13. *Spatio alvei*.—"In a widely extended channel."
14. *Ita, quantumcunque, &c.*—"Accordingly, whatever may be the size of the river, the risk in making a landing will be the same."
15. *Vulneratis*.—According to the strict rule of grammar this should be *vulnerato*. Perhaps Curtius wrote *uno et altero*.
16. *At enim*.—These words imply an ellipsis which the student will supply.
17. *Cum paucis, &c.*—Spoken ironically.
18. *Solitudinem fecistis*.—These words naturally call to mind the

Notes

- pithy remark of the barbarian chief, (Tacitus, *Agric.* 30): *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*
19. *Pervenimus.*—"We are coming to."
 20. *Per, ego vos, gloriam, &c.*—See Note 22, Lib. iv. Cap. xiv.
 21. *Et is vos, &c.*—"And I, that now ask you, am he that never," &c.
 22. *Nescio quid, &c.*—"I have unwittingly done you some wrong which makes you unwilling even to look upon me." For *nescio quid* see Note 16, Lib. iv. Cap. x.
 23. *Quàm precariò, &c.*—"Than to be a general, dependent upon the caprice of others."

LIB. IX. CAP. III.

1. *Non detrectare, &c.*—"Did not shrink from a discharge of their duties, but had not the ability to perform them."
2. *Fremitus.*—"Murmuring." *Gemitus.*—"Groans." *Dolor.*—"Grief."
3. *Erigi.*—"To become more prominent," as that which is elevated above other things."
4. *Temperare oculis.*—"Restrain his eyes"; *i. e.*, "Refrain from weeping."
5. *Impias.*—That is: Towards Alexander. See Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v.
6. *Idem animus, &c.*—"Your soldiers have the same disposition they have always had, to go," &c.
7. *Proinde si, &c.*—"Accordingly, if you adhere to your purpose."
8. *Sed etiam, &c.*—"But even your own soldiers." That is: You have worn out your soldiers in your numerous campaigns. Hein-sius conjectures *tuos* before *militēs*; the sense seems to require it.
9. *Capere poterat.*—"Was capable of."
10. *Quotocunque, &c.*—"How few possess a coat of mail."
11. *Nec luxuriâ, &c.*—"Nor is luxury the cause of our distress."
12. *Ut.*—"Grant that." For *de industriâ*, see Note 6 of preceding chapter.
13. *Etiam ex mendacio.*—"Even from their exaggerated accounts."
14. *Pervenimus.*—"We have already arrived."
15. *Non ut inirem, &c.*—"Not to curry favour with," &c.
16. *Quàm pro corporum habitu.*—"Than in proportion to the size of their bodies." A foolish artifice, and one obviously detracting from the glory of his conquests.
17. *Propter paucos, &c.*—"That for the sake of a few days, [as it turned out], he had made a long speech, as though he were the

Note

only one about to revisit Macedonia," whereas he was the first to die.

18. *Mille, &c.*—The order is: *Aditurus Oceanum mille navigiis reliquit in suis regnis Porum et Taxilem, Reges Indiæ, discordes [olim] et vetera odia retractantes, [nunc] gratiâ firmatâ per affinitatem, usus summo, &c.*

IIB. IX. CAP. IV.

1. *Quam ipsi obtinebant.*—"Which they themselves were now in possession of."
2. *Stirpis, &c.*—"Exhibited traces of their origin."
3. *Excensione factâ.*—"Landing with his troops." Literally, "A debarkation having been made."
4. *Venierunt*, the student will observe, is from *venco*.
5. *Delcbant—defendebant.*—Imperfects, in the sense here intended, are expressed, in familiar English, by the word "kept." "The inhabitants kept destroying," &c.
6. *Quippe tria, &c.*—"For three rivers, the largest in all India, with the exception of the Ganges, dash their waves against the fortifications of the citadel." The Delphin editor justly exclaims, with regard to this and the succeeding passage, "*Immo, Hercule, Curtius ipse Geographiæ ac Historiæ rationes confundit.*"
7. *Iter, quâ, &c.*—That is: The channel.
8. *Subducere, sc. naves.*—"To run the vessels ashore." Zumpt reads *vela* after *nautæ*; translating, "To take in sail."
9. *Ministeria, &c.*—"The discharge of their duties is prevented, on the one hand by," &c.
10. *Innoxia.*—"Uninjured." Used passively.
11. *Gubernaculi impatiens.*—"Not minding the helm."
12. *Apparebatque, &c.*—"And it appeared equally as hazardous for him to attempt to swim as to continue on shipboard."
13. *Periculi societas.*—"A community of danger."
14. *Omni discrimine, &c.*—"That they had already arrived at the end of all danger."
15. *Novis identidem, &c.*—"That as often as they were supplied with new arms, so often there arose new enemies." See above. § 9. (*armaque viginti, &c.*) Zumpt supposes *novis armis* to refer to "new expeditions, new countries into which they carried their arms." The sense above given seems the more natural.
16. *Jam prospicere, &c.*—"That they already beheld the ocean in the distance."

Note

17. *Spectata virtutis*.—"Of tried valour."
18. *Haud magis*, &c.—"With no greater confidence in their walls than in their own bravery." Lit., "their arms."
19. *Jam admovebat*.—"Was already advancing against it."
20. *Tantas res, non*, &c.—"To one having his eyes fixed on such great objects, not the mere entrails," &c.
21. *Cunctantibus ceteris*.—"While the rest were hesitating."
22. *Non pinna*, &c.—"No battlements, as elsewhere, marked its summit, but a continuous parapet carried along the top prevented a passage over it."
23. *Margine* here means the narrow coping of the wall.
24. *Quis non*, &c.—"Which not sustaining them, they fell down," &c.

LIB. IX. CAP. V.

1. *Multòque*, &c.—"Much more likely to give him a reputation for rashness than to add to his glory."
2. *Ut se*, &c.—"So as to light on his feet."
3. *Desperatio*.—"Hopelessness of assistance."
4. *Cùm subinde*, &c.—"While the enemy were from time to time surging in upon him." The figure is taken from the ebb and flow of the waves on the seashore, or rather against an opposing rock.
5. *Jam continuo*, &c.—"Already had his knees, wearied with continual toil, failed to support him."
6. *Jam exceptum*, &c.—Here again the distinction above noted (Note 7, Lib. vi. Cap. i.), between *genua* and *poplites*, holds good; for the thigh (and with it the whole body), in the position in which Alexander is represented to have been, falls towards the inner, not the outer, part of the knee.
7. *Remisit*.—"Let fall." "Relaxed his hold upon."
8. *Resolutus*.—"Weakened."
9. *Ut ne ad*, &c.—"That there was not strength enough left in his right hand to draw out the arrow" with which he had been pierced. Zumpt, strangely enough, translates thus: "*His right hand had not power even to bend the bow slightly, far less to draw it to its full extent* (evellere)."
10. *Subjecto mucrone*.—"By an underthrust of his dagger"—his adversary being in the act of stooping over him.
11. *Et postquam*, &c.—"And when there was not sufficient strength left for him to make that exertion, he attempted," &c.
12. *Muri vestigia*, &c.—This is a doubtful passage and has given rise

Note

to various conjectural readings;—that of the text is the common one and is thus explained by Zumpt: “*Following the foot of the wall; that is: going along the bottom of it.*” Of this reading, Schmieder says, *Quod Latinum esse dubito: vestigia extant, muro præter fundamenta delcto.* Heinsius proposes *fastigia* instead of *vestigia*, which certainly connects better with *deturbatis propugnatoribus*, as *their* station would be along the top of the wall. Perhaps the following may be the true reading, *det. pro. muri, vestigia persequens Regis, supervenit.* That is: Though Peucestes mounted the wall at a different part of the city, yet he *traced the course the king had taken and came up* to his assistance. At all events the objection to this reading (namely, that *persequens vestigia* necessarily denotes an actual following in the footsteps of another) is no more insuperable than that against the reading in the text.

13. *Submiscrat clypeum.*—“Had let fall his shield.”
14. *Inter hæc.*—“Meanwhile.”
15. *Terruisset, &c.*—“That which excited their courage would have terrified other soldiers.”
16. *Tandemque, &c.*—“And at length by the indiscriminate massacre,” &c.
17. *Scilicet gloriæ, &c.*—“Certainly not likely to stand in the way of,” &c.
18. *Securitas.*—“Carelessness.”
19. *Par huic vitium.*—“Which is just as bad.”
20. *Ita, ne spiculum, &c.*—“In such a way that the iron point should not be disturbed,” and thus irritate the wound.
21. *Caterùm, &c.*—“But they were afraid that a flow of blood would interfere with the performance of the operation.”
22. *Ne in ipsius, &c.*—“Lest the consequences of an unsuccessful remedy might recoil upon his own head.”
23. *Quid—quodve tempus, &c.*—“What do you wait for? Or why delay so long, and not free me as soon as possible from this pain? since, at all events, I shall soon die.”
24. *Ut se continendum, &c.*—“That he would permit himself to be held.”
25. *Etiam levem, &c.*—“That even a slight motion,” &c.

LIB. IX. CAP. VI.

Note

1. *Septem diebus*, &c.—“After the wound had been healing for seven days, and before it was yet completely cicatrized.”
2. *Periisse credentibus*.—“To those who believed that he had perished.”
3. *Spem—inhibuit*.—“Put an end to their hopes.”
4. *Secundo amne*.—“Down the river,” or, “With the current.”
5. *Credisne—adventu*, &c.—The order is: *Credisne nos esse magis sollicitos adventu hostium, ut* (though) *jam consisterent in vallo, quam curâ tuæ salutis ut vilis* (however valueless) *nunc est tibi*.
6. *Oblitus tot*, &c.—“Forgetting that you expose to danger the lives of so many of your countrymen.”
7. *Quòd si*, &c.—“But if you were still contending, &c., although no one would wish [to see such hazardous displays of valour] yet no one could wonder that you manifested such ready boldness,” &c.
8. *Secundis rebus*, &c.—“There are richer fruits (higher joys) attending success, and greater consolation in the want of it.”
9. *Tuo verò*, &c.—“But that a miserable village should be acquired at the risk of your life,” &c. Craterus calls the town where Alexander was wounded, *ignobilem vicum* to disparage its value, compared with the king's life. As we have seen, it was a well fortified city.
10. *Civis*.—*Civium* would seem the proper word here as governed by *quis* and connected by *sed* to *militum*. *Civis* is omitted altogether in some editions.
11. *Eloqui timco*, &c.—“I shudder at mentioning that the most cowardly were on the point of laying their hands upon the spoils of your invincible person.”
12. *Interceptum—servâsset*.—“Had rescued and preserved you.”
13. *Universos licet*, &c.—“You may brand the whole body of soldiers with disgrace, yet no one will refuse to expiate that fault, the commission of which it was not in his power to prevent.”
14. *Capiant*.—“Are adapted to.” More literally, “Have a capacity for.”
15. *Ut tandem*, &c.—“That at length he would set bounds to that thirst for fame, of which he had had his full share.”
16. *Pietas*, and a little below, *Piissimi*. See Note 15, Lib. v. Cap. v. As to *piissimi* Cicero has the following remark (Philipp. xiii. 19): *Tu porro ne pios quidem sed piissimos quaris; et quod verbum*

Note

omnino nullum in linguâ Latinâ est, id, *propter tuam divinam pietatem*, novum inducis.

17. *Altiusque*, &c.—“And commencing his remarks in a higher tone of voice.” Or, it may mean, “Commencing a set speech,” for we find Cicero using the phrase *alte petito sermone* with that signification. As the king was still suffering from the effects of his wound, perhaps, after all, the true meaning is, “Commencing his remarks in a somewhat low tone.”
18. *Ceterum non*, &c.—“But those who express a willingness to die for me (and I think I merit in some degree their good will by my bravery) do not entertain the same sentiments with myself.”
19. *Contento*, sc. *mihi*.
20. *Quanquam ne*, &c.—“Although indeed the slothful have not the disposal of their own fate.”
21. *Ex Asiâ*, &c.—This remark is founded on the error (already noted) of mistaking the Jaxartes for the Tanais.
22. *Videorne vobis*.—“Do you think that.” Lit. “Do I seem to you.”
23. *Multam—vitam*.—That is: A life with much in it. A life full of stirring incident. The Delphin editor has doubts as to the correctness of this Latinity, and suspects that some word like *famam* has fallen out after *multam*.
24. *Quibus*, sc. *in*.
25. *Dii favcant*.—“By the favour of the gods.”
26. *Ceterum quoniam*, &c.—“And now since an occasion is afforded me of bringing forward a subject, long agitated in my mind,” &c.
27. *Si licuerit*.—“If I shall be permitted” by the continuance of life.
28. *Præceperit*.—“Shall have taken me away before” the death of my mother.
29. *Vos mandâsse*, &c., i. e. *Vos mementote [me] mandâsse [hoc vobis]*

LIB. IX. CAP. VII.

1. *Non tam*, &c.—“Not so much from hostility to Alexander.”
2. *Qui*.—The antecedent to this relative is not *popularium* as the student might infer from its proximity, but is found in the subject of *caperunt*.
3. *Miserabilis facies*, &c.—“The wretched appearance of one appointed to torture suddenly turned their feelings into a different channel.”

Note

4. *De quibus ante, &c.*—See Lib. ix. Cap. iv. § 12, *ad init.*
5. *Intextæ, &c.*—"Interwoven with gold and embroidered with purple."
6. *Intactis viribus.*—With their power not materially diminished,—literally, "untouched;" but as we find from Arrian that they had met with some reverses, *intactis* must be received with some qualification.
7. *Equites imperat, se. iis.*—That is: He requires of them so many horsemen. The phrase is elliptical and *aut præberent* or some similar words may be supplied.
8. *Quidquid aut, &c.*—"Making a display of whatever was corrupt among the Persians from luxury of long continuance, or among the Macedonians by their recent adoption of new customs."
9. *Per seria et ludum.*—"Half in jest, half in earnest," or it may possibly mean "during hours of business and of leisure." That is: "On all occasions."
10. *Iusta arma.*—"The arms which he usually bore." We are reminded by this description of Goliath's equipment to meet David.
11. *Hastam.*—"A spear," to be retained in the hand;—*Lanceam.*—"A javelin," to be hurled.
12. *Puniceum amiculum.*—There is some doubt as to what this *aniculum* was. Some suppose it to have been a light purple cloak worn on the *left shoulder* for ornament;—others, with more reason, that it was a purple scarf carried in the *left hand*, to be used in some way as a defence against the weapons of his adversary.
13. *Posse, se. Dioxippum.*
14. *Quem occupatum, &c.*—"Whom, seized in his grasp before [he could draw his sword], Dioxippus, by suddenly tripping up his feet, dashed to the ground."
15. *Elisurusque, &c.*—Literally, "About to dash the life out of him."
16. *Ex composito.*—"By an arrangement among themselves."
17. *Rubore.*—"Innocence." The effect for the cause. That *rubor* should imply "innocence" is contrary to the dictum of Shakespeare who says (Love's Lab. Lost, i. 2):

"For blushing cheeks by faults are bred,
And fears by pale white shown."

18. *Utique postquam.*—"At all events [such was his opinion] after the immoderate joy of his enemies showed that he had been falsely accused."

LIB. IX. CAP. VIII.

Note

1. *Ferri candidi*.—Commentators differ as to the meaning of these words,—some supposing “tin,” others “steel,” to be intended. The latter opinion is best supported.
2. *Haud procul*.—Supply *ut*.
3. *Populi—imperio*.—An early instance of a democratic government, and where we should least expect to find it.
4. *Quà prospici poterat*.—“As far as could be seen.”
5. *Hinc*.—“Hence.” “On this supposition.”
6. *Furere clamitantes, &c.*—“Crying out that they were mad to wage war with the gods.”
7. *Nihilo plus animi*.—Compare this with O. T. (Joshua, v. 1.)
8. *Hic de Teriolte, &c.*—“Here he instituted an inquiry into the case of Terioltes, whom he had made prefect of the Paropamisadæ, and upon their accusation.”
9. *Simile monstri*.—“Like a miracle.”
10. *Nullo suffosi, &c.*—“Not the slightest indication of an underground passage having been previously exhibited.”
11. *Sub coronâ*.—“At auction.” Some explain the phrase by supposing it to have been the custom to place a wreath of some common material around the heads of captives exposed for sale, while others refer it to the circle of soldiers stationed to prevent the escape of the captives.
12. *Venisse*.—From *venco*.
13. *Sed non ut, &c.*—“But the victory was not as joyful in its results as in its first appearance”; *i. e.*, “as it promised to be.”
14. *Strenuâ*.—“Speedy.” The word is employed by Columella in reference to *toxicum*, “poison,” to express its speedy operation.
15. *Barbari autem*.—“Now the barbarians.”
16. *Exeipi posse*.—“Might be taken off.”
17. *Et forte, &c.*—“And it was by a mere chance that he,” &c.
18. *Majore periculo, &c.*—That is: Exposed to more danger from the poison than from the wound by itself considered.
19. *Modico, &c.*—That is: His mode of life was temperate, and like that of a common citizen.
20. *Altior*.—“More profound” than usual with him.
21. *Oblatam* is to be referred to *speciem*, not to *herbam*.
22. *Agniturum siquis, &c.*—“Declaring that he would recognize it, if any one should find it.”
23. *Enatam* probably refers to the formation of the island from the

Note

wash of the river, as is often the case in the Mississippi and other large streams.

LIB. IX. CAP. IX.

1. *Quia duces*, &c.—“Because the guides, too carelessly watched, had run off.”
2. *Nec repertis*.—“Although more were found.”
3. *Quàm patiens*, &c.—“How commodious for large vessels.”
4. *Quadringenta stadia*.—About forty-six miles.
5. *Auram maris*.—“The sea breeze.”
6. *Quò propius*, &c.—“The nearer their hopes were to being realized.”
7. *Subibat mare*.—The flowing in of the tide is here referred to, as also in the succeeding passage *quia cursus*, &c.
8. *Insulam—evecti*.—Our author has repeated instances of the omission of the preposition after this participle.
9. *Securi casus*, &c.—“Regardless of the evil that comes upon the incautious.”
10. *Statâ vice*, &c.—“According to its regular course, the sea at full flood began to rush in and force back the current of the river.”
11. *Quod—coercitum*, &c.—Those who have observed the force of the tides at New York, along the wharves on the East River, can form some idea of the justness of this description.
12. *Levatis navigiis*.—That is: “Raised up” from the shore on which they had been *beached*, according to the custom of the ancients.
13. *Expectatis*, sc. *iis*.
14. *Clauda et inhabilia*.—“Shattered and unmanageable.”
15. *Abstergeri*.—“To be swept away.”
16. *Perveniebat*, &c.—“Came even to blows.”
17. *Quippe*, &c.—The order is: *Quippe, ignari æstum paulo post relaturum mare, quo navigia allevarentur, ominabantur sibi met famem et ultima*.
18. *Statum tempus*.—“The fixed” or “regular time” for the return of the tide.

LIB. IX. CAP. X.

1. *Scabies*.—This is the general term for cutaneous affections, such as “the itch,” “the leprosy,” &c.
2. *Quâ terrestri*, &c.—“Along the route by which, by a land march, he thought he should conduct his army.” *Videor mihi* is often

Note

properly rendered "I think"; so here *videbatur* [sibi], "He thought."

3. *Deducti sunt*.—This is the word usually employed by Livy and other Roman writers to denote the planting of a colony.
4. *Rimantes* agrees with *Macedones*, and governs *radices*.
5. *Tantum*, &c.—The order is: *Singulis credentibus ipsos proficere tantum ad spem salutis quantum itineris præriperent festinando*.
6. *Imminentisque*, &c.—"And, moreover, the appearance of evil impending over themselves was ever before their eyes."
7. *Deos testes*.—Witnesses of their sad state, and the cruel desertion of their fellow-soldiers.
8. *Necessitatis suæ*.—"Of his destitute condition."
9. *Nec cessatum*, &c.—"Nor did they delay to comply with his orders."
10. *Constrata*.—"Floored over."
11. *Prægravis*.—"Loaded down."
12. *Parata præda*, &c.—"A ready prize—an easy prey, if the conquered had possessed any spirit, at least against a troop of revelers."
13. *Quæ rebus*, &c.—"Which establishes the character and value of things."
14. *Præscns ætas*.—"The age then present."

LIB. X. CAP. I.

1. *Quinque millia*, &c.—Zumpt places these words in apposition with *Cleander*, &c. Others supply *cum his crant*. In one manuscript *adducentes* is found after *mille*, and that may have been the true reading.
2. *E provinciâ*.—Namely, from Media, as we learn from Lib. vii. Cap. ii. § 6.
3. *Quod tacitum*, &c.—"Which thing, though not openly mentioned, might be of service to the accused in the view of the king."
4. *Desperationem*.—In apposition with *crimen*.
5. *Quos auctores*, &c.—See Lib. ix. Cap. x. § 34, *ad fin*.
6. *Æstu secundo*, &c.—"That they are carried along with the tide."
7. *Truci cantu*, &c.—"That, when by horrible shouts, they were deterred from following the ships, they plunged into the waters like sinking ships with a great roaring of the sea." *Deterritas a sequendâ classe* or *deterritas quò minus sequerentur classem* would have been the more usual forms. Digby gives a different sense to the

Note

- passage. "That they were frightened at the horrible noise made on purpose from on board the fleet, notwithstanding which they followed the same," &c.
8. *Cetera*, &c.—"As to other things they had relied," &c.
 9. *Ab his*, sc. *incolis*.
 10. *Terram legere*.—"To coast along shore."
 11. *Adire—pratervechi*.—These infinitives are to be referred to *statu-erat* in the preceding sentence.
 12. *Exercuit*.—"Wielded."
 13. *Dissimulans causam*, &c.—"Not mentioning the reason of his enmity, in order that the authority of the accuser might have more weight."
 14. *Jam tamen*, &c.—"Though already held in less esteem."
 15. *Solium* here signifies a sarcophagus or stone coffin. Suetonius (Nero 50) employs it in this sense in the following passage: *In eo monumento solium Porphyretici marmoris superstante Lunensi ara, circumseptum est lapide Thasio*.
 16. *Quod ad me*, &c.—"As far as regards myself."
 17. *Ceperat*, sc. *Alexander*.
 18. *Ad representanda*, &c.—"To carry punishment into immediate execution." *Ad deteriora credenda*.—"To give credit to evil reports."
 19. *Erga bona*, &c.—"Sufficiently on his guard against prosperity."
 20. *Adversus*, &c.—"Contrary to the natural bent of his disposition."
 21. *Quidem*.—What follows, to the end of the chapter, we have supplied from Cellarius.

LIB. X. CAP. II.

1. *Transmittunt*.—The subject of this verb is Harpalus and his followers, as mentioned in the supplement.
2. *Portum urbis*.—That is: The Piræus, seven miles from the city, and connected with it by two long walls.
3. *Soli Athenienses*, &c.—"This whole passage," as the Delphin editor remarks, "has been subjected to the tinkering of critics, without being bettered by it." The true reading cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. We give that which seems to us to afford the most suitable meaning: *Athenienses soli, vindices non modò suæ, sed etiam publicæ libertatis, quia agere ferebant collusionem omnium ordinum (assucti regi non regio imperio sed patriis legibus moribusque) prohibuere [res, i. e., Harpalum, &c.] finibus, toleraturi omnia, &c.*

Note

4. *Æs alienum*, &c.—“Should make known their indebtedness.”
5. *Ab integris*.—Lit., “From the sound.” Those whose property was whole or untouched, that is: “from the frugal.”
6. *Professionem*.—Corresponding with *profiterentur* above.
7. *Decem millia talentorum*.—See Note 16, Lib. iii. Cap. i.
8. *Fide facta*.—“Their confidence having been gained.”
9. *Verecundiâ regis*.—“Reverence for the king.”
10. *Motum esse*, &c. *regem*.
11. *Consternatio*.—See Note 4, Lib. v. Cap. iv.
12. *Noscendi*.—“Of discriminating.”
13. *Pervelim scire*.—“I am very anxious to know.”
14. *Adducar*.—*Ut credam* may supply the ellipsis after this word.
15. *In quâ*, &c.—“In which the greater part of the army has no interest since,” &c.
16. *Sordent*.—“Are despised.”
17. *Hoc cultu nitentes*.—This is said ironically.
18. *Absit invidia*.—“Without boasting.” Livy has *absit verbo invidia* in the same sense. Taken literally, it is merely deprecatory of the envy that naturally arises on account of self-praise.
19. *Nempe ex*, &c.—“And that too out of the spoils of that very Asia” which you despise.
20. *Profundo ventre*, &c.—He here chides them for having wasted in sensual pleasures all the spoils they had acquired in war.
21. *Bonis*, &c.—Spoken in irony. “Fine soldiers, truly.”
22. *Expetam*, &c.—“I will seek revenge by courting,” &c.

LIB. X. CAP. III.

1. *Cum ad supplicium*, &c.—“When they (the assembly) saw that those who had attempted no graver offences than the rest were dragged off to punishment,” &c.
2. *Tum effusam*—*itaque*.—Supplied by some other hand.
3. *Itaque*, &c.—The order is: *Itaque sive veneratio nominis, quod gentes, quæ sunt sub regibus, colunt inter deos, sive [veneratio] propria ipsius [Alexandri] sive fiducia excrecentis imperium tantâ vi, conterritur eos, certe ediderunt*, &c.
4. *Pervicacis*, &c.—“Being of a determined purpose with regard to every thing that he had well considered.” *Animi* is the genitive of qualification.
5. *Quod*, &c.—“In so far as I trusted,” &c.

Note

6. *Omnia fluere*.—"That all things were relaxed; were in a state of languor and inactivity."
7. *Hoc ego nunc, &c.*—"I now, for the first time, make this open acknowledgment."
8. *Mox deinde*.—"Soon afterwards."
9. *Victuri sunt*.—For the remaining words of this chapter we are indebted to an unknown hand.

LIB. X. CAP. IV.

1. *Et quidem, &c.*—"And those too of a foreign character." The words *mergi in amnem*, a little below, explain his meaning. *Mcris*, the genitive of qualification.
2. *Amico animo, &c.*—"The advice was given to him with kind intentions, if he had only been willing to bear with the truth."
3. *Trucidaret*.—Hence, to the end of the chapter, follows the supplement of Cellarius.

LIB. X. CAP. V.

1. *Eminebat*.—"Was conspicuous."
2. *In eodem, &c.*—"In the same posture."
3. *Membra rejecit, &c.*—"He threw back on his couch, at full length, his weary limbs."
4. *Providere jam, &c.*—"He already foresaw that with reference to that contest (*viz, qui esset optimus*) great funeral games," &c.
5. *Certamen, &c.*—"Engaged, as it were, in a contest of grief."
6. *Evadentis, &c.*—"Scaling the walls."
7. *Non de regno, &c.*—"That is: Not to obtain for themselves and their beloved monarch the empire of Asia, but to decide who should be king."
8. *Pro potentia, &c.*—"To maintain the authority."
9. *Fremitus, &c.*—"They were catching at the murmurs and exclamations."
10. *Altera ex neptibus*.—According to Arrian (Blanc. ed. 1668, p. 447) this was Drypetis.
11. *Retractabat*.—"Felt again."
12. *Et pariter, &c.*—"And that the funeral rites of two sons were to be performed at the same time by the wretched woman."
13. *Unum*.—From Lib. vii. Cap. v. we learn that his name was Oxyathres, and that he was one of the king's body-guard.

Note

14. *Magnum—Alexandro—documentum.*—"Strong evidence in Alexander's behalf."
15. *Iuste estimantibus, &c.*—"To those who estimate rightly, it is clear," &c.
16. *Gloriæ, &c.*—"A fondness for glory and praise, which, while it exceeded the bounds of propriety, *must be pardoned* in a young man engaged in such mighty undertakings." We find Plautus (Trin. 1, 2, 44) using *admittere* in the sense here given.
17. *Consilium.*—"His sagacity."
18. *Veneris intra, &c.*—It is hard to reconcile this statement with what has been related in the first chapter of this book with regard to Bagoas. *Usus* is the noun.
19. *Ingentes, &c.*—"Were in truth great endowments."
20. *Illa fortune.*—"The following may be attributed to his prosperity." Understand *crant* after *fortune*.
21. *Plurimum.*—"Very much." *Plus.*—"More."
22. *Expectavêre, &c.*—"Destiny waited for him, until, having conquered the East and advanced to the ocean, he had accomplished whatever humanity was capable of."
23. *Moles, sc. imperii.*—"The weight of government was too great for one man to undertake."
24. *Qui—adhæserunt.*—"Who were connected with"; that is: obtained the smallest share of his immense empire.

LIB. X. CAP. VI.

1. *Exceptis qui, &c.*—"Prohibited access, except for those who were cited by name."
2. *Precarium.*—"Held by sufferance."
3. *Imperii vires obsignare.*—We agree with the suggestion of the Delphin editor, that Curtius wrote some other word instead of *vires*, unless indeed we suppose the sense to be this: "With which he gave the stamp of authority to every exertion of the power of," &c.
4. *Tantum virum, &c.*—"That the gods had loaned so great a man for the benefit of human affairs, in order that when they were duly arranged, they might speedily reclaim him for their own race." The language is figurative and refers to the loaning of money as is evident from the terms *accommodasse*, "To lend," *sorte*, "capital," and *reptercnt*, "to seek the return of that which was lent."
5. *Ut obtinere, &c.*—"How we may obtain."

Note

6. *Illud*.—"One thing."
7. *Ceterum, &c.*—The order is: *Ceterum regem nondum ortum expectari, et [eum], qui jam sit, prateriri, convenire nec animis Maccodum nec tempori rerum.*
8. *Digna, &c.*—Ironically spoken.
9. *Captivi*.—Genitive in apposition with *cujus*.
10. *Eoque—stetur*.—"Let that plan be adhered to." Literally, "Let it be stood to that."
11. *Nihil dico, &c.*—"I do not refer to those who are of more noble birth than Perdiccas."
12. *Exactos mentes*.—That is: Till her full time is come.
13. *Quem vos, &c.*—"Do you doubt his readiness even to substitute one (a male child)" in case Roxane brings forth a female?
14. *Populus* here means "the common soldiers."

LIB. X. CAP. VII.

1. *Maxime miserabilem*.—"Chiefly to be pitied."
2. *Ad cetera, &c.*—"They were blind to other things."
3. *Et milites, &c.*—"And the soldiers, saluting him by the name of Philip, proclaim him king."
4. *Utique—luxuriat*.—"Especially if it is rioting," &c.
5. *Inclinavere studiis*.—"They inclined in their affections."
6. *Qui affectaverant, &c.*—"Who had aimed at a kingdom that did not belong to them"—"to which they had no claim."
7. *Nisi genitum ut regnaret*.—"Unless born to command."
8. *Et pluribus*.—"And to the majority."
9. *Discederent—rati—intendunt, sc. Perdiccas*, and his party.

LIB. X. CAP. VIII.

1. *Eum, sc. Perdiccam*.
2. *Neminem, &c.*—"And, besides, that no one is very faithful to one whom he dreads."
3. *Omnino*.—"In all"
4. *Castigatos, sc. satellites*.—"As being under the lash."
5. *Inagens, &c.*—"A wide-spread and involuntary gloom."
6. *Expetituras, &c.*—"Who should seek revenge for so many defeats."

Note

7. *Quibus spem, &c.*—"In a rash and hasty manner to deprive them (the citizens) of the hope of being again received into favour, is the part of those who are hurrying on to civil wars."
8. *Imparem.*—"Not a match."

LIB. X. CAP. IX.

1. *Nam et, &c.*—"For royal power admits no partner, and in this case it was sought for by many."
2. *Proinde.*—"It is on this account that."
3. *Principi.*—According to the varying opinions of critics this has been supposed to allude to Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Constantine and Justinian.
4. *Hujus, sc. sideris.*
5. *Absit modo, &c.*—"Provided envy throw no obstacles in the way, the posterity of this same house shall certainly for a long time (would that it were for ever) prolong the circumstances of this age."
6. *Æquatum, &c.*—"Had been placed on an equality with Perdiccas."
7. *Probabilis.*—"Plausible."
8. *Contra.*—"Opposite."
9. *Haud sane, &c.*—"Expecting nothing at all of a peaceful character," that is: from the *equites*.
10. *Pro equitibus.*—"Favourable to the cavalry."
11. *Tutissimum ex, &c.*—"The safest course under present circumstances."
12. *Obnoxios.*—"Abject"—"Not disposed to resist."
13. *Apparebatque, &c.*—The order is: *Apparebatque [Philippum] vindicaturum id modò pro suo, quod eventus approbasset.*
14. *Cùm ejus, &c.*—The order is: *Cùm videret inimicos abutentes nomine ejus, quem fecerat regem, in suam perniciem, &c.*

LIB. X. CAP. X.

1. *Gentium*, governed by *imperium*.
2. *Obtinere.*—"To retain."
3. *Qui—præerant.*—"Those who had been prefects over," &c.
4. *Vanam.*—"Unfounded."
5. *Specie imperii, &c.*—"Under pretence of taking charge of the empire of another," viz: of Philip Aridaeus.
6. *Expeditius.*—"An easier matter."

Note

7. *Nudo solo*.—That is: Unprotected by trees.
8. *Ut tandem, &c.*—"When at length his friends had leisure."
9. *Vigor*.—"The life-like colour."
10. *Majorem*.—"Greater" than was justified by the resources of a prefect.
11. *Ut ferrum, &c.*—"As to consume even iron."
12. *Hæc utcumque, &c.*—"Whatever may have been the character of these traditions, the power of those, whom rumour had aspersed, soon stifled them."

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